REPORT RESUMES

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AN EVALUATION OF A MODEL FOR GUIDANCE COUNSELING AND A STUDY OF ACADEMIC UNDERACHIEVEMENT.

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THE CO-RELATED OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY WERE--(1) TO DEVELOP AND EVALUATE A MODEL OF EGO COUNSELING DERIVED, IN PART, FROM THE PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF ADAPTIVE FUNCTIONING, AND (2) TO INVESTIGATE CERTAIN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDERLYING ACADEMIC UNDERACHIEVEMENT. A COUNSELED EXPERIMENTAL SAMPLE OF 53 BRIGHT, BUT ACADEMICALLY UNDERACHIEVING HIGH SCHOOL BOYS WAS COMPARED WITH NON-COUNSELED CONTROL GROUPS OF UNDERACHIEVERS, FAR-ACHIEVERS, AND OVERACHIEVERS. DIFFERENCES WERE FOUND ON A NUMBER OF VARIABLES ASSOCIATED WITH ADAPTIVE EGO FUNCTIONING. THESE DIFFERENCES INCLUDE--CONTROL OF IMPULSE, ATTENTION TO LONG-RANGE CONSEQUENCES OF CONDUCT, NATIONAL MEANS-ENDS ANALYSIS IN PROBLEM-SOLVING, SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN DECISION-MAKING, ARBITRARINESS IN ATTITUDES AND JUDGMENTS, AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENTIATION OF SELF-CONCEPTS AND LIFE GOALS. NO CHANGE ASSOCIATED WITH COUNSELING WAS FOUND IN GRADES OR ON STANDARDIZED MEASURES OF INTEREST, ATTITUDES, AND VALUES. SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WERE FOUND ON VARIABLES OF ADAPTIVE FUNCTIONING AND IMPULSE CONTROLS MEASURED BY THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST. AN INTERPRETATION OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN TERMS OF EGO THEORY IS ENCOURAGED. (AUTHOR/PS)

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AN EVALUATION OF A MODEL FOR GUIDANCE COUNSELING WITH BRIGHT ACADEMIC UNDERACHIEVERS

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CHAPTER I

UNDERACHIEVEMENT AND COUNSELING

He is fifteen years old, a high school sophomore. He performs very efficiently on standardized tests of intelligence (WAIS IQ 132) and of academic achievement. But he is failing or nearly failing in all his school courses. He is troubled about his "underachievement." In part, his troubles are engendered by the criticism of his disappointed parents and teachers, who construe his academic failure to be a negation of their values and their efforts on his behalf. But his pain is not only an infliction from outside. Apparent in the following excerpts from an assessment interview is a quite poignant struggle within himself:

> ...I don't know why I keep taking the college courses and classes. I might not get to college; why I don't take the general, business, or something like that, I don't know. Way in back of my mind I may have an idea of going to college, but...maybe I still don't do anything about it.... I don't know, maybe if you could split my mind down the middle, half wants to go to college and do the work and the ...then...you have the other half fighting it...(laughs dryly)...do what you want to do, be lazy, or something. It's about the best I can explain it.

Later, discussing homework:

> ...well, if I don't do homework for one night, I fall behind in class next day and if it's an important subject where you have to do your homework, in order to understand it better, I'm lost in class the next day; my determination leaves me and I just give up and sit there and stare at the blackboard and mind my own business; do nothing; think of the basketball game yesterday...or something like that.

For contrast, let us hear from another bright boy of the same age whose academic performance has led us to call him an overachiever.[1] He is mainly concerned that the high school curriculum is too constricting. In the following excerpt, he is discussing how he would prefer to handle his 10th grade Geometry course if he were permitted:

> ...I...it would take...take me probably...I spend an average of an hour per chapter on our Geometry...and we've covered something like, oh...18 chapters this year...this means I finish Geometry in three days probably. And that will be six hours a day...that wouldn't be too bad at all and I'd be interested. I'd work problems till I could work them in my head...and then I'd stop because I'd know that I understood the material.... I...I figure that as soon as I get to a place where I can work every problem on a page in my head...and I don't have to write the things down...I know the material.

Thus, two boys. They surely differ critically in their readiness to master academic tasks, particularly in the degree to which each feels able to control his thought processes. It is from differences such as these that the strategy for this inquiry took its inspiration.

In its conception, this was a research in guidance counseling. Academic underachievement was later introduced to provide a useful criterion in the research design. But questions about the psychology of academic motivation and performance soon assumed co-equal importance with those about the counseling process. The final study is thus two-faceted in its topic and in its intended contribution. It is designed, first, to study a method of guidance counseling which may have merit in many situations apart from the setting of the secondary school and apart from the problem of academic underachievement. Second, it considers academic underachievement both as a criterion variable in the design for the counseling research, and as a phenomenon which is critically important in its own right. Throughout this report, because the sequence seems most logical, discussion of the academic underachievement problem precedes the discussion of counseling.

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[1] We are mindful of the objections of Getzels and others to the value implications of the term overachiever. We regard overachiever to be simply operationally descriptive of a case in which measured academic performance exceeds that predicted from a test score. It is surely not implied that overachievers are performing better than they ought to. We hope to continue to employ the terms under- and overachiever, simply because they are functional. Such alternate terms as "superior achiever" are equally vulnerable to criticism.

Plan for the Report

This chapter will consider in a preliminary way the topics of academic underachievement and of counseling as research variables; it will also mention some of the considerations which underlie the particular design and methods employed in this research. Chapter II describes the research design, setting, and procedures in more detail. Chapter III outlines the findings from a comparison of underachievers, par achievers, and overachievers on measures of ability, personality, self concept, and certain social variables. Chapter IV describes the treatment and some case data obtained in using the method of ego-counseling which, in this research design, constituted the main treatment variable. Chapter V reports an analysis of possible change over time on some of these variables, particularly with reference to change which might have occurred as a function of counseling. Chapter VI discusses findings and suggests implications.

Underachievement

Educators have long been perplexed by inferior academic performance on the part of students who otherwise evidence superior intellectual capacity. Research on academic underachievement, however, typically has been insignificant in its findings and inconsistent in its explanations (Hackett and DuBois, 1961; Peterson, 1963; Thorndike, 1963; Taylor, 1964). Underachievement has been attributed variously to parental disinterest, cultural impoverishment, personality maladjustment, teacher inadequacy, and just plain laziness. Some social scientists have made it fashionable to justify underachievement as a symptom of adolescent alienation from absurd conditions in school and society (Friedenberg, 1959; Goodman, 1956). Whatever one's interpretation of its sources, underachievement is generally recognized to be a serious drain on society's reservoir of talent (McClelland _et_. _al_., 1958; Miller, 1961) and on an individual's chances to realize a sense of worth and fulfillment in an increasingly technological society.

Theoretical Considerations

In this research, academic underachievement is studied as a problem in adaptive ego functioning. As an individual confronts the flow of demands and opportunities in daily living--for example, the tasks imposed by the school--he perceives and acts under the guidance of a system of psychic dispositions. This "guidance system," which comprises the mainly conscious, the rational, and reality-oriented aspects of personality, is called the ego. The concept of ego as a dynamic organization of perceptual and value dispositions through which an individual guides and governs his efforts to adapt to his environment has been given its most important recent treatment in Rapaport (1951), Hartman (1959), and Gill (1959). Some of the elements of theory more specific to the present study appear in Hummel (1965).

The ego structure, the network of personal dispositions within the ego, changes and develops as an individual matures and learns from experience. At any given moment, however, it influences significantly the manner in which a person governs his needs and impulses, and guides his behavior in response to the tasks and opportunities in his external world. It is in this sense that the ego can be construed as an agency, an "establishment" through which an individual adapts to his environment.[2] Some of the indicators of an adaptive ego include: a rational orientation to problem situations; a readiness to deal with a set of prescribed tasks with minimal delay, distraction or supervision; a planful orientation toward the future; and a willingness to postpone enjoyable activities in pursuit of a distant goal. The quality of a student's academic performance is construed, in this context, to be a function of the adaptive strength of his ego.

The Ego and Academic Performance

The relationship between academic achievement and ego adaptiveness is quite short of perfect. Many conditions other than ego capacity obviously determine an individual's level of academic achievement. Academic underachievement is thus not necessarily a symptom of ego inadequacy. Some courses in some high schools neither encourage nor merit maximal effort from bright students. Nor are teachers' grades arrived at with pure objectivity. Some bright adolescents, moreover, may give priority to enterprises outside the high school. If these non-academic enterprises are socially constructive and personally satisfying, why downgrade the ego adaptiveness of adolescents so engaged? Nor is it necessarily maladaptive for some bright students to take a "moratorium" from intensive academic study, especially if they use this time to examine critically the often contradictory values and performance standards being promoted by the adult world.

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[2] This is a much foreshortened statement of ego theory, intended simply to provide a context in which to interpret the concepts and empirical data of this study. A natural consequence from discussing theory in shorthand language is to treat a hypothetical construct, viz., "the ego," as if it were an active, independent entity. It is understood that the ego "exists" only as defined in a model of human functioning. But in this hypothetical sense of existence, the construct of ego can aid invaluably an investigator's efforts to order and to interpret his observations and findings.

Despite such exceptions, we are still persuaded to the postulate that underachievement, in the general case of the bright student, is associated with immature ego functioning. An essential reason for construing academic achievement to be associated with ego strength lies in the consequences academic achievement has on an individual's freedom to choose and to exercise some control (in the future as well as in the present) over his life circumstances. Marginal or failing performance in school narrows the range of choice and control available after one leaves school. The theory focuses on the "life in progress" (White, 1952) of each adolescent in a society which is becoming increasingly technological, corporate and bureaucratic in its structure. With such social changes, access to socially valued and personally satisfying statuses (in terms of occupational level, marital eligibility, and civic association) has come to pivot more and more around formal educational qualifications.

Whether one views these social trends to be desirable or not is, from the perspective of this research, immaterial; the trends exist, and they can be projected as facts for the future (Kimball and McClellan, 1962). Of course, a sufficient theory of underachievement as maladaptation ought still to provide for the adolescent who, out of protest or sheer individualism, would knowingly and responsibly choose to establish his identity outside the corporate mainstream. Such a person might have a strong, well-adapted ego. But considering the risks, he would have to be of heroic--and therefore rare--stature. Currently, the more likely conditions associated with adolescent alienation, in the suburban high school at least, are anomie and apathy.

Only incidental and speculative reference will be made in this report to alienation as a sociological theme. Also slighted, despite its significance and relevance, is the issue of social class bias. Underachievement can be caricatured as simply a middle-class notion derived from the Protestant ethic concerning work and achievement, and inapplicable to students who have rejected or not learned the values and competences afforded by growing up in a middle-class family. Such criticism has been examined at length during and since completion of this research, without arriving at a resolution which would satisfy all critics. For the time being, it is asserted that academic competence is useful; it can enable a person to gain a wiser understanding of his own human condition; and it can qualify him to attain many of the things which are commonly desired in a modern society. Within this purview, certain questions might be asked of a person who rejects or fails academic standards which he could otherwise satisfy with reasonable effort. Is he aware of the consequences? Does he accept responsibility to deal with the consequences? Is he doing something, other than academic study, to create future options for himself? These questions are not entirely value neutral. Yet they suggest a context in which to study academic performance as a kind of problem-solving behavior, whose effectiveness is, to a significant extent, a function of ego strength. This investigator believes that the concept of ego strength has generic applicability across social classes. This belief has not been tested, however, in this study; the subjects were drawn from a homogeneous middle-class population.

Guidance Counseling

The growth of guidance services in the junior and senior high schools of America during the past decade has been notably heightened by such documents as the Rockefeller and the Conant reports, and the National Defense Education Act. In these documents, guidance counselors are designated to play a pivotal role in programs designed to enhance the educational aspirations and performance of the nation's students. Insofar as secondary school students need educational and occupational information, college recommendations and the like, the increasing availability of guidance services should be genuinely helpful. But the qualifications of the typical secondary school counselor to "counsel," i.e., to foster self-examination by a counselee, have not been satisfactorily established.

Secondary school counselors are typically over-concerned with the need for "practical" action: with the details of academic grades, course selection, and college application. In their interviews with students, it is natural for the counselor to represent the concern of school administrators and parents that errors be "corrected," that the student pursue the institutionalized objectives of the school with determination and efficiency. But in acting as surrogate for the school administrator, the counselor inevitably makes it difficult for the student to examine in the counseling interview those particular purposes and dilemmas which are salient in the student's own perspective on life. When confronted, in particular, with confused and conflictual motivation--

with its manifestations in academic underachievement, vocational indecision, delinquent behavior and the like--the limitations to the technique typically available to the secondary school counselor become critically evident.

Present programs to expand the professional training of school counselors, for example, those under the National Defense Education Act, will improve the exercise of guidance counseling as a professional function only in part; for a fundamental inadequacy is in our limited understanding of counseling as a special way of communicating with another human being. In brief, the process in which a counselor interacts with a counselee to help him clarify and act consistent with his own purposes, remains only vaguely understood and largely unevaluated. The study reported here was conceived in terms of this problem. Prior to initiating the research, a method called ego-counseling had been developed gradually over a number of years of clinical practice and pilot study. The rationale for the term ego-counseling already has been adumbrated in this chapter. The implications of ego-counseling for practice in school settings will be considered during extended discussion of the method in a later chapter.

Counseling and Underachievement

It may help at this point, to make explicit two assumptions: First, that academic underachievement is psychologically "real," that it is not merely a statistical artifact, a false problem concocted by psychologists who make up aptitude tests. Second, that (guidance) counseling has an identity separate from instruction and from other forms of educational dialogue, and that it is a process which merits efforts at scientific inquiry.

It should be emphasized that ego-counseling has been developed to be applicable to a wide range of the problems which human beings of various ages might bring to a counseling situation. Practical considerations determined the decision in this study to try out ego-counseling on a sample of underachieving high school boys. The secondary school is one of the likeliest setting in which ego-counseling would be employed. Moreover, the dimensions of academic motivation and achievement seemed to have a useful place as criterion variables within the counseling research design. Ego-counseling was not intended to be a specific "cure" for academic underachievement; indeed, conducted as an isolated procedure, ego-counseling might be less effective, in the general case, than some other educational procedures.[3]

The counseling study was designed so that, for each counselee, academic underachievement would be a likely problem to introduce and examine. In simple outline, the research design incorporates ego-counseling as an independent treatment variable, and measures of academic achievement and of certain aspects of personality as dependent variables. But this outline hides a discomfiting paradox. One of the unique and indispensable characteristics of a counselors' attitude is his concern for the freedom of the counselee to become what he--the counselee--chooses. Can a counselor endeavor to maintain a non-manipulative and non-judgmental attitude generally during the course of treatment and yet decide, following counseling, whether the treatment has been successful? Can even impartial observers judge the effectiveness of counseling without relying on value positions whose imperatives contradict the principle of counselee freedom within the counseling relationship? One way of resolving the paradox would be to compromise the concern for counselee freedom. This seems to be what has happened, in fact, in much of secondary school practice, where counseling is often employed as a corrective, as an essentially administrative strategy for dealing with such problems as that of underachievement. The counselor in such situations may wish earnestly to be helpful. But to the degree that the student is expected to validate the counselor's help by improving his conduct or his grades, the principle of freedom in the counseling process is necessarily compromised.

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[3] An ultimate guidance program in which ego-counseling could be a pivotal element would probably require a systematic mix of several procedures, including special curriculum and group guidance units, group counseling, and individual counseling. Such a "Coordinated Information and Guidance System" is currently being developed in the Learning Research and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh.

Let us amplify our concern over this paradox. Let us attempt to specify further the connection (and the disconnection) between underachievement and counseling. Underachievement is used here to refer to a phenomenon in the behavior of specified persons; the term implies neither the existence of a specific clinical diagnostic category nor of a particular kind of person. It would be inappropriate--and probably defeating to the ideals of a counseling relationship--if the counselor considered himself to be working simply with an "underachiever"; rather, he is dealing with a thinking person whose performance in response to school tasks is determined by a highly complex (psychological) organization of meanings and motives. The counselor attends not only to such facts as low grades or broken parental expectations but to what these facts may mean to the counselee. He postulates that significant change in the counselee's motivation and performance with reference to academic tasks can be expected to occur only to the degree that the counselee re-construes the meaning of these tasks with relation to his own goals and purposes.

By definition then, at least in the present study, counseling involves a process of self-examination by the counselee, with the counselor as collaborator, in which the counselee's awareness of the process in which he is engaged and his freedom to determine its outcomes are given a supreme value. From such a definition, it would be inappropriate for the counselor to influence directly a prescribed course of action. The counselor is not a technical operative carrying out a recommended procedure; in fact, at each new moment of truth in the counseling interaction, he has available nobody else's procedure but his own. Thus, ego-counseling alludes to a set of preferred attitudes and strategies which the counselor implements flexibly and with utter respect for the counselee's ultimate freedom to arrive at his own decisions and to take responsibility for his own courses of action.[4]

The fact that society and its representatives are troubled by his "symptom" is of no necessary concern to an underachiever. By manipulating sanctions, home and school may "help" an underachiever to experience a problem in connection with his inadequate academic performance. His failure may be dramatized as a family tragedy. He may be admonished that he is failing to qualify for college, that he is disappointing his loved ones, that he is letting himself down, and the like. Intervention by home and school may influence an underachiever to put added effort into academic work. He may, like Jacques in Laurence Wylie's (1957) sensitive study of French village life, decide to work hard "So people will leave me alone!" He may, even though initially coerced, become seriously interested on occasion in some of his studies. But coercion is likely to have limited leverage; furthermore, the experience of being overpowered can breed in an adolescent a non-creative conformity and/or a generalized resentment against all authority and all academic work.

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[4] Some impressive research evidence exists that an interviewer can "shape," unaware to the interviewee, a wide range of his behavior (Michael and Meyerson, 1962; Krumboltz, 1964). This evidence raises an important issue which cannot be explored here. We lean toward Allport's view (1962) that a strict positivism is inadequate to a theory of guidance and counseling. Reinforcement and conditioning may be useful (partial) concepts to explain some behavioral changes associated with some kinds of human interaction; we consider them to be insufficient, however, to order and to explain the complex interactions in counseling. More pointedly, we believe the deliberate use of techniques for shaping behavior to be alien to the process of counseling; for we would insist that a critical aim within the counseling relationship is to enhance both the counselee's awareness of what is happening to him and his freedom to act accordingly.

We have been outlining, in fact, a three-sided predicament. The three sides involve the roles of educator, of counselor, and of investigator. As educators, we want the student to make productive and satisfying use of his capacities; we regard academic underachievement to be, in the general case, an undesirable condition; we want society eventually to derive some return from the student's exercise of trained capacity. But the student whom we are counseling may not be ready to share our values; at least, he may not be ready to comprehend or to act in response to their implications. As counselor, we encourage him to explore such issues as underachievement in his own terms and to act accordingly; we do not argue the educator's case for higher achievement; and we refrain from the use of sanctions and rewards.

The third side of the predicament pertains directly to the planning and reporting of this study, especially to the inclusion of underachievement and ego-counseling as variables in the research design. Within an ordinary research model, we might hypothesize that the use of a (defined) ego-counseling procedure with a (defined) population of bright underachieving boys will be associated with significant change (improvement") in their academic motivation and performance. The underlying process assumed would be represented in the paradigm, BC = f(c). This function would assert that particular behavioral changes can be anticipated and effected by the application of a particular counseling procedure. But ego-counseling, as we already have insisted, does not lend itself to simple systematic use as a procedure for inducing students to work harder or to get higher grades. Successful counseling with underachievers may in most instances lead to higher school grades; but it is quite conceivable for an underachiever to choose deliberately and responsibly to reduce his efforts in certain courses, or to drop out of school.

Academic grades and other indicators of the counselee's attitude toward his school work can provide useful behavioral data for criterion measurement _if_ related not merely to the simple fact that counseling took place, but to other qualitative changes in the counselee. The term "ego-counseling" suggests the kinds of qualities postulated to change as an outcome of counseling. Some of these (ego) qualities are mentioned earlier in this chapter amid discussion of academic performance as a problem in ego functioning; they will be examined in the later discussion of ego-counseling as concept and method.[5]

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[5] Elsewhere (Hummel, 1962; Hummel and Sprinthall, 1965) we have reported crude preliminary efforts to treat the problem of counseling outcome in such "naturalistic" terms--minimally dependent upon arbitrary value positions--as control and responsibility; more recently, we have realized the relevance of the concept of trust, in Erikson's (1959) sense of the term. A simple demonstration of trust would be in a student's willingness to act on the promise of the school that, even though it cannot be demonstrated immediately, an understanding of history or of algebra can help him to make a better life. Control might be demonstrated in study methods or in the containment of a dislike for a teacher sufficiently to get on with the work of the course. Responsibility might be demonstrated in the student's willingness to take risks in course assignments, in the manner in which he assigns blame for failure, or more directly, in the way he relates himself to a counselor.

Related Research

Precursors to this study may be found in: (1) Studies of the etiology of underachievement; (2) studies of counseling process and outcome; and (3) studies of systematic efforts to change achievement behavior. Space limits preclude consideration of the great volume of articles and research reports dealing with academic achievement and with counseling which have been reviewed for this study. The literature continues to proliferate. The context for this study in the research literature thus will be considered only briefly.

The Etiology of Underachievement

The most salient feature in the research findings on underachievement over the past forty years is their contradictoriness. Various surveys disagree even about the scope of the underachievement problem. A general estimate is that 15 to 25% of our gifted students are achieving at a level that is significantly below their ability. A survey in a California high school (Miller, 1961) estimated that 42% of the gifted students were underachieving; in a New York survey the estimate was 54%.

Peterson (1953) reviews and satirizes the contrary research findings in the literature on underachievement. Depending upon which investigator you read, underachievers are either more or less sociable and realistic, and better or worse adjusted than overachievers; their fathers have attained sometimes a higher, sometimes a lower level of education and occupational status. One cause of such inconsistency is in the varying means by which underachievement is defined. Simply viewed, underachievement is a condition in which a student performs at a lower academic level than would be predicted from other indicators of his ability. In research, the definition of underachievement typically is made operational by comparing a student's scores on a standardized measure of aptitude with the level of his grades in school courses. A student will be scored as an underachiever to the extent that his actual grade level is exceeded by his predicted grade; if the discrepancy is in the opposite direction, he will be considered an overachiever. But the ranking and classification of students on an underachievement-overachievement dimension may vary significantly, depending upon an investigator's choices among elements such as these: (1) The particular measure of _aptitude_, and the scores chosen as cutoffs; (2) the particular measure of _achievement_, e.g., teachers' marks, standardized tests; (3) the measure of _discrepancy_--how wide a gap between aptitude and achievement constitutes significant under- or overachievement.

Thorndike (1965) has written a concise and scholarly analysis of some of the methodological questions associated with research on underachievement. He approaches underachievement as a problem in prediction; what we label as underachievement and overachievement represent imperfection in our predictions of academic performance. An investigator wants to improve his predictions; he wants to know why his predictions fall short and how students who achieve less well than expected might be brought to improve their performance. (He is likely to be less solicitious toward overachievers!) Thorndike identifies four sources of error in our predictions:

(1) Chance errors of measurement. These blur "real" differences between subjects and have a biasing regression effect on the distribution of scores. To reduce such effects, Thorndike recommends that predictions of achievement from aptitude be based on the regression equation between these variates.

(2) Heterogeneity in the achievement or criterion variable. A significant part of the variation in school grades, for example, may derive not only from factors in the students but from differences in the grading standards of schools, programs, and teachers. Thorndike recommends that such sub-group differences be controlled by such techniques as analysis of covariance.

(3) Stable and unmodifiable factors such as sex, race, and socioeconomic status which, however irrelevant to academic performance, have been shown to influence teachers' grades; such variates need to be separated out when predicting academic achievement.

(4) Modifiable personal and educational factors. These are pivotal in research design and procedure. An investigator can study relationships and changes in such variables in natural settings, or can attempt to modify them through counseling or other educative procedures. He would do so on the assumption that changes in certain personal qualities or educational conditions would be accompanied by changes in academic performance.

Advice like Thorndike's seems to have been either unknown or ignored by most investigators of underachievement. Thus the forbidding and perhaps futile task of sifting out from the research literature a common set of personal characteristics which distinguish underachievers from other students.

One can find prior support for stating contrary terms of almost any reasonable hypothesis about underachievers. After sorting through divergent findings in the literature, Taylor (1964) has suggested seven personal dimensions along which to distinguish underachievers from overachievers:

(1) Free-floating anxiety vs. directed anxiety
(2) Negative vs. positive self-value
(3) Hostility vs. acceptance of authority
(4) Negative vs. positive interpersonal relations
(5) High vs. low independence-dependence conflict
(6) Socially vs. academically oriented
(7) Unrealistic vs. realistic goal orientation.

Taylor's traits seem to be a sensible summary of the many discrepant findings in the literature. But note how general they are. They are like the common elements in underachievement which Gowan (1957) identified; after suggesting his list, Gowan admitted that they might be "... merely a description of healthy personal attitudes and behaviors which are associated with the accomplishment of growth patterns on schedule." Beasley (1957) suggests that underachievement cannot be understood as a manifestation of particular personality variables, but only as a function of these variables interacting within the gestalt of a particular human life condition. She asserts that specific personality traits and modes of adjustment "...have to be understood in their more personal, subtle, and pervasive aspects rather than as particular phenomena which in themselves can account for underachievement.

In this study (a significant part of) the conditions associated with underachievement have been explained in terms of the concept of adaptive ego functioning. It is hoped thereby to produce explanations more consistent and relevant than those which have been reported in the literature to date.

Studies of Certain (Ego) Values in Relation to Academic Achievement

The connection between ego processes and academic achievement is suggested in research by Wilson (1959) and by Stone (1960). Using an attitude and values scale based on Kluckhohn's Value Orientation Scheme, Wilson compared a sample of Harvard College students who had come from public schools with a sample from the private schools. The public school students' scores exemplified the traditional value orientation of our culture: (1) Future-Time; (2) Man-Over Nature; (3) Active-Doing; (4) Man is judged by what he does. The value orientations of the private school students were less well differentiated. Wilson found a significant difference in college achievement associated with value orientations. The public school students with well-developed values for individual mastery over the environment and a future time orientation achieved a higher academic level than the private school students, even when the groups were equated on the basis of ability. The different value orientations of the two groups persisted throughout the college experience.[6]

Using Getzel's Differential Value Scale, Stone compared two groups scoring at the extremes of the scale. After matching the sample by age, sex, intelligence, and social class, he reported a significant relationship between orientation to traditional values and academic achievement. The scale is based on Spindler's dichotomy of traditional values (inner-directed, work-success, ethic, independence, puritan morality) versus emergent values (sociability, group conformity, present-time orientation). Other studies by Morgan (1952) and by Stern, Stein, and Bloom (1956) detected consistent attitudinal differences among academic achievers versus non-achievers. Morgan found that achievers tried to be intellectually efficient, more socially responsible, more realistic, and that they are more mature and serious in their interests. Stern, Stein, and Bloom suggest that one of the fundamental difficulties of underachievers comes from their lack of interest or concern with abstract ideas and intellectual activities. The interaction between lack of scholarly interests and poor grades may have cumulative effects as students advance to higher grades in school. Interestingly, Stein, Stern and Bloom found no relation between personality maladjustment and achievement behavior. There were also no differences between members of the different achievement groups in their relations with people, specifically in relation to authority figures; nor did the groups differ in their degree of aggression and hostility.

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[6] Whether such "value orientations" can be properly conceptualized as "ego variables" is an arguable question, but too extensive to pursue here. It is simply posited that such dimensions of value are relevant aspects of ego structure and functioning.

Two studies which suggest the influence on academic achievement of ego dispositions associated with family structure are those by Perry (1959) and by Strodtbeck (1958). From an analysis of the responses of Harvard undergraduates to a check list of educational values, Perry isolated one major factor: the wish for clear, explicit, and externally sanctioned structures of rightness, and a rigid conventional identification with parents. The student who expressed these attitudes achieved in his academic work significantly below other students. Using V-Scale data on high school males and their fathers, of Jewish versus Italian extraction, Strodtbeck found differential achievement in terms "...of culture (Jews versus Italians), of socio-economic status (high over low SES), and of sons (over-versus underachievement in school)" (1958, p. 187). Strodtbeck, Wilson, and Perry all were influenced by Kluckhohn's theory of the major value orientations of society, which he identified as mastery over environment and independence from family. These two attitudes, both in our society, and within specific cultural subgroups, seem consistently related to achievement behavior. Other relevant non-intellective attributes include maturity of interests, social concern, and disposition toward intellectual activity, abstract conceptualizing and planfulness.

Counseling Process and Outcomes

Space limits again preclude a substantial review of the research literature on counseling which is relevant to this study. Excellent reviews are available in earlier issues of the Annual Review of Psychology and in reports in the Journal of Counseling Psychology by Schmidt and Pepinsky (1965), and by Myers (1966). Annual reviews will probably continue to be published in the Journal of Counseling Psychology.

Process. It is convenient to make arbitrary distinctions for research between counseling processes and the outcomes of counseling. Process studies are those which systematically order and examine the interview content, i.e., what is communicated verbally and in other ways between counselor and counselee. Process studies of counseling were initiated during the 1940's by Carl Rogers and his students. These early stories demonstrate that changes in interview content during the course of counseling could be coded and identified systematically. Marsden (1965) has written the most recent and systematic review of counseling (psychotherapy) studies which employ content analysis of interviews.

Outcome. Studies of counseling outcome have been notably less frequent than those of counseling processes. This condition has ensued, in part, because of the criterion problem which is suggested earlier in this chapter. The classic study of counseling outcomes is that by Williamson and Bordin (1940). They hypothesized that students who received "organized" counseling would achieve a better degree of adjustment than those who did not. The control and experimental groups were matched on a set of multiple criteria which included high school background and college test scores. One year after counseling was completed, judges, using the counseling data and a follow-up interview, rated the degree of adjustment of the counseled students. Adjustment was rated according to the extent to which students maintained the plans they had stated on admission to college. A significant difference was found between the two groups in grade point average at the end of the counseling procedure; differences in adjustment, although not significant, also favored the counseled groups.

The Williamson and Bordin data were collected during the mid-1930's. Campbell (1965) conducted a follow-up study of the same students 25 years later. An amazing 99% of the original sample were located and about 90% responded. Campbell found slight but consistent differences in achievement (judges rated "contribution to society") favoring the counseled students over the non-counseled students 25 years later.

The small but encouraging outcomes associated with counseling in the William and Bordin study have not typically been found in counseling research. Hill and Grieneeks (1966), indicate that apart from the Williamson and Bordin report, their search of the literature has not revealed any studies of self-selected counselees with individually matched controls, in which counseling has been followed by significant improvement in grades; their own studies, using an academic achievement criterion, have also failed to effect improvement in academic grades.

Process and Outcome. One of the most comprehensive studies of both process and effects of counseling is reported by Rogers and Dymond (1954). In this book, seven investigators report on eleven distinctive though interrelated studies. To assess outcomes, Rogers used operationally defined variables. For example, changes in self-perception were studied using the Q-sort technique and changes in certain personality variables were studied using the TAT. The findings using the Q-sort indicate that before counseling there were great discrepancies between the counselee's concept of self as opposed to his concept of ideal self; during counseling this discrepancy lessened. Despite deficiencies in design and sampling, this study is notable for its use of multiple and operationally defined criteria, hypotheses based on theory, use of controls (including a WAIT group), the effort to follow-up subjects, and the attempt to analyze data in terms of process and outcome.

Efforts to Change Achievement Behavior

Although there is reasonably consistent evidence that certain non-intellective factors promote or inhibit academic success, little is known about the process by which these attributes may be cultivated. McClelland points out that "We know something definite only in the negative sense that motives, values, social skills, are not changed by formal instruction the way that cognitively guided skills are." (1958) P. 239. Among all research efforts to change achievement motives and behavior, McClelland (1965), in fact, has initiated some of the most adventuresome and systematic experimentation.

In an interesting counseling research with underachievers in a secondary school setting, Baymur and Patterson (1960) experimented with and compared group, individual, and individual-one-session counseling arrangements. McCarthy (1960) tried out a method of group counseling underachieving boys, using relevant case studies as the focus for discussion. Goldberg (1959) experimented with differing arrangements in school classes, for example, with special homeroom and subject teachers, in an attempt to increase the motivation of low achievers; by the end of the academic year, the experimental group had improved in all subjects except social studies, and the control group had gone down in all subjects.

It is not possible to derive general conclusions from such experimental efforts. There were substantial defects in their research design, for example, in their selection processes and in their definitions of achievement level. Hummel and Gribbons (1957) mention some of the relevant design questions: Are the counselees self-selected? Do they serve as their own controls? Is there a common presenting problem? How are measures of counseling process related to measures of counseling outcome?

Several investigators of counseling with underachievers have concluded from their findings, ironically, that a different approach from theirs ought to be tried, often an approach that had been used and dismissed by other researchers. McCarthy, upon analyzing disappointing outcomes from a non-directive procedure, suggests that a more directive approach is needed to teach the students that they have academic potential and how to use it. Broedel, _et_. _al_., (1960) concluding that group counseling alone is not effective, recommended that study skills be taught in a remedial program. Goldberg concluded that the study skills approach was not particularly useful. Fushell and Lester (1962), believing the study skill approach to be too superficial, recommended "depth" counseling. Such divergences among investigators remind us of Peterson's comments about underachievement, cited earlier.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

It was indicated in Chapter I that this study is directed coequally to the problem of underachievement and to the problem of assessing counseling processes and outcomes. This chapter reports the general design and procedures which are relevant to both problems, as well as the specific methods used to compare underachievers with par achievers and overachievers. Those elements of design and method bearing specifically on analysis of the counseling process and outcomes will appear in Chapter V.

The Research Population

The research population consisted of all the boys from the two high schools of a middle-to-upper class suburban community near Boston, Massachusetts. This community provides strong support for public education; the schools are ably staffed and enjoy a national reputation for excellence. The high school curriculum has five tracks: advanced placement, two college preparatory sequences, a vocational training program and a commerical training program. Over 70% of the students who graduate from high school attend four year colleges.

Selection of Sample

A sample of boys in the sophomore, junior and senior classes was drawn from both high schools of the community in the fall of 1960. Using the entire school population of about 1500 high school boys, a regression equation was computed for each high school class. The combined Verbal and Quantitative scores of the School and College Abilities Test (SCAT) were used as a measure of academic ability and compared statistically with six differently computed measures of grade point average (GPA). The measure of GPA finally selected was that which provided the highest correlation between measured ability and grades (the correlation for each of three grade levels ranged from .70 to .79); this measure took into account for each course its level of difficulty, its number of credit points and the teacher's grade. The regression equations were then used to compute a predicted GPA for each student. The difference between the actual weighted GPA and the predicted average was derived as a discrepancy score. Discrepancy scores were computed for the entire population of high school boys and then distributed on a continuum with the average score at zero.

The research sample drawn from this population included only boys who scored above the 70th percentile (national norms) on the SCAT test and who were currently enrolled in one of the college preparatory curricula. The final sample was divided into groups at three achievement levels: underachievers, par achievers, and overachievers. Table 1 indicates the numbers affected by each screening decision, and the final groupings.

Underachievers. The underachievers were defined as boys with grade point discrepancy scores (GPA) which fell one or more standard deviations in the negative direction from the average discrepancy score of the population. The initial selection procedure provided a group of 166 possible underachievers, picked from the population roster. This exhausted the population of bright male underachievers (as defined by the criteria already mentioned) in the two high schools.

As a check on the SCAT, the subjects tentatively selected were administered the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS). (A conversion scale was developed for subjects below age 16.) Students were included

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS IN FINAL SAMPLE

School Class Graduating	Achievement Status			
	Underachiever		ParAchiever	Overachiever
	Counseled	Non-Counseled		
1961	14	12	5	8
1962	15	13	9	8
1963	21	20	10	12
Totals	50	45	24	28

Screening Decisions

Original Pool of Students		220
Refused to Participate (Par Achievers)	2	
Marginal or Doubtful Academic Skill	35	
Pervasive Emotional Problems	16	
Academic Performance Improved during Research Period	17	
Dropped after Counseling was Initiated	3	
Total Attrition		73
Total Subjects in Final Sample		147

in the sample if SCAT and WAIS scores indicated high average ability. Thirty-five underachievers were dropped when an inspection of both ability measures suggested that their intellectual ability was marginal for the research sample, or that they were specifically handicapped by a reading or a math disability. Further screening by interview and by check of school records eliminated 16 students for whom it was felt that low achievement was an aspect of more pervasive emotional disturbance. Seventeen additional students were dropped as "underachievers in transition"; their 1st quarter grades in the fall improved significantly over their grades of the previous June which had been used in the regression equation. These students also expressed serious intentions during their assessment interviews to sustain their improvement. Three subjects were dropped after counseling was initiated. The elimination of 71 cases thus reduced the number of underachievers in the final sample to 95.[1] After completing the assessment of all subjects, the 95 underachievers were split into a counseled group and a non-counseled group; this procedure will be described later.

Par Achievers. The par achievers were chosen through a similar screening procedure. The final group was composed of 24 students whose actual and predicted grades were equal; that is, their discrepancy score was close to zero.

Overachievers. The superior achievers were selected by the same basic procedure. The final group was composed of 28 students whose discrepancy scores were one or more standard deviations in the positive direction from the average discrepancy score. The overachievers were thus separated from the underachievers by at least two standard deviations on the continuum of discrepancy scores.

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[1] In his study of self concept and achievement, using the Q-sort data from this research, Kehas (1964) created three additional groups from the 17 "Underachiever Controls in Transition (UACT)", and from the 16 students who had been classified as emotionally disturbed (Non-sample Refer (NSR) and from the students who initiated but did not complete counseling (Counseling Attrition (CA). For certain analyses, he thus used 7 groups.

In summary, the procedures employed to refine the sample were:

(1) Selection of the most efficient out of six tested formulae for defining academic grade point average. (2) The combined use, for screening, of both group and individual tests of mental ability. (3) The elimination of subjects who manifested potentially severe emotional problems. (4) The selection only of students from the college preparatory curricula whose academic potential was estimated to be sufficiently high to justify planning for college. (5) The separation of the three achievement groups by at least one standard deviation in discrepancy score units, thus minimizing overlap and the effect of errors of measurement.

Characteristics of the Research Sample

The final sample consisted of 147 normal suburban high school boys who measured high in academic ability, divided into three groups: 95 underachievers, 24 par achievers, and 28 overachievers. The ability and achievement measures for the three groups are summarized in Table 2.

There were no significant differences in measured mental ability among the three achievement groups. On the SCAT, the average total converted score was 304 (approximately at the 93rd percentile on national norms); on the WAIS, the average total I. Q. was 118 (approximately at the 99th percentile on Wechsler's national norms.) If the actual GPAs were plotted on a conventional scale, the underachievers would

TABLE 2

MEASURES OF SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE OF RESEARCH SAMPLE

Test (N=147)	Mean	S.D.	Percentile Equivalent (approximate national norms)
WAIS			
Verbal	122.14	7.68	93%
Performance	110.56	10.77	75%
Total	117.90	6.51	87%
SCAT			
Verbal	297.67	9.68	88%
Quantitative	313.26	11.79	90%
Total	304.02	8.23	93%

MEASURES OF SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE BY ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS

Test		UA (N=95)	PA (N=24)	OA (N=28)
WAIS				
Verbal	$\overline{X}$	121.12	123.71	124.29
	s	7.66	7.08	7.81
Performance	$\overline{X}$	110.76	110.42	110.00
	s	11.32	11.02	8.81
Total	$\overline{X}$	117.30	118.92	119.07
	s	6.43	6.99	6.36
SCAT				
Verbal	$\overline{X}$	297.56	298.16	295.77
	s	10.82	8.49	9.70
Quantitative	$\overline{X}$	313.36	316.58	310.88
	s	12.17	9.61	11.67
Total	$\overline{X}$	303.36	306.04	302.44
	s	8.93	7.36	7.40

(None of the observed differences on the scholastic aptitude measure were statistically significant across the three achievement groups.)

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT BY GROUPS

		UA	PA	OA
Weighted grade average	$\overline{X}$	4.43	6.53	8.31
	s	1.35	0.88	1.06
Discrepancy score	$\overline{X}$	-1.77	+0.12	+2.24
	s	1.33	0.47	0.77

average approximately C- grades; par achievers, B-; and superior achievers, A grades.

The three groups were found to be similar with respect to a number of additional variables, namely, socio-economic status,[2] age, level of educational aspiration, the extent of family dislocations (i.e., death or divorce of a parent), and place of family origin. Religious-cultural background was also coded into Jewish vs. non-Jewish categories. It had been assumed on the basis of previous research (McClelland, 1958; Strodtbeck, 1958) that religious background would be relevant to academic achievement. In this sample, however, no such relationships were observed. Of the 48 boys who could be classified as non-Jewish, 43 out of 64 (67%) were underachievers. Of the boys who could not be classified in terms of religion, an equivalent of 57% were underachievers. Similar percentages were found for the par and overachiever groups, i.e., 21% of the Jews and 15% of the non-Jews were overachievers--an insignificant difference in this population.

The homogeneity among the groups in this research on the variables noted above thus encouraged the assumption that, in this sample, levels of academic achievement can be examined in relatively pure relationship to variables we have defined as ego dispositions.

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[2] The students were rated on socio-economic status using the Hamburger method (1957). The scale measures from level 1, professional occupations, to level 7, unskilled workers. All three groups had average ratings between level 2 and level 3. The reliability of the ratings was found to be satisfactory. Two judges scored 51 cases independently, and reached 90.2% agreement. The distribution of socio-economic status for all three achievement groups was found to be consistent with the middle class character of the community. [Further analysis of the assessment interview data, however, revealed possibly significant differences between under- and overachievers in the attainments and status of their fathers even when the fathers were classified at the same occupational level (see Chapter III).]

Administration of the Project

A basic condition in the research plan was that it be conducted in a regularly operating school system. It was realized that a tighter design could be maintained in a university laboratory or in an independent counseling and guidance agency. But it was also felt that this limitation would be compensated for by the advantages of working with the subjects in the natural-state conditions of the school. It was intended that the Project be construed by the students and the school personnel as an adjunct to the regular guidance services; this intention was realized to a quite satisfactory extent.

Upon presentation of the plan for the Project by its director, the Oxford[1] school system readily agreed to participate. This school district had had several years experience of favorable collaboration with the University for training and research. The Project also received the invaluable sponsorship of the director of pupil services in the school district, a person who had earned considerable prestige in his joint appointment in the school of education at the University.

The high school made available a remodeled art instruction room which was well lighted and quite large and comfortable for group testing. It was adjoined by a small room which the project director could use as a private office. Two additional interviewing rooms were made available on other floors of the same building. At South High, a newly opened building, similar space was available as needed. Thanks to extraordinary cooperation by the school administration, the facilities remained quite adequate during the entire Project.

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[1] "Oxford" is a pseudonym.

Staff. The director was granted leave from his university duties for one year to conduct the Project. Although he was given no formal designation, in the school, he interacted with the students and school personnel as would a visiting faculty member. He previously had been known to many of the faculty, especially to the school counselors, through his work in supervising the counseling practica of Harvard University graduate students in guidance. Three half-time research assistants collaborated with the director in administering some of the tests and in conducting the assessment and counseling interviews. All three were completing their doctoral studies in guidance at the University and had responsible experience in counseling and teaching. Their work was supplemented by two research assistants whose sole task was to administer the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS). A full-time secretary in the office maintained the complex schedule of activities. Additional temporary help handled data processing and other details.

Schedule. In the spring prior to initiation of the Project, a pilot test of the ego-counseling method was conducted in a different Boston suburban school district. In this study, the director and three research assistants each counseled two bright but underachieving high-school boys for a period once weekly for five weeks. The tape recordings of these interviews were criticized by all the staff members. During the summer the scores from the SCAT tests, which had been administered as part of the regular testing program of the school, were processed. Errors in scoring were corrected and make-up testing arranged to minimize gaps in the roster. Part of the computation was accomplished

in the data-processing center which had recently been established in the school district.

Most of the pre-testing and assessment interviewing was accomplished during the fall. The final selection of samples and the assignment of a group to counseling was accomplished by mid-year. The counseling was conducted from February through April; post-testing was completed in June. A second post-testing of the tenth and eleventh graders was accomplished in May of the following year.

Explaining the Project to Its Clients. The director described the Project to the school faculty at its first meeting of the adademic year. The need for the Project staff to maintain confidences with the students was explained. The Project was interpreted generally as one which was intended to find ways to improve the guidance services of the school. No pointed effort was made either to hide or to disclose the arrangements for testing and counseling. As it worked out, the teachers and counselors maintained a positive but only peripheral interest in the work of the Project during the year. They might have learned, through occasional necessity to make adjustments in a student's schedule, to reflect that he had appointments in the Project office. But they were most unlikely to know whether he was being interviewed, tested, or counseled. The make-up of the research sample, which included students whose academic performance ranged from very poor to very strong, also helped to reduce the bias which a student's identification with the Project might create in the perceptions of the school personnel. This mixture of students in the sample also minimized the likelihood that students themselves would feel stigmatized by association with the Project.

No special announcement was made to the parents of the students. When pretesting began, phone inquiries were received from the homes of about ten students. When the Project was described to the parents, none objected. The students also knew that they could choose not to participate; of the 220 boys who were screened, however, only two (par achievers) refused. As an incentive, it was arranged to provide the regular school counselors with the scores from the School and College Ability Test (SCAT), the Wechsler Adult Ability Scale (WAIS) and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). The data from the personality inventories and from the projective techniques were not communicated to the school personnel. The test scores were transmitted for entry in the cumulative folder toward the end of the school year after the research counseling had been completed.

Daily Operations. The testing and counseling of students was arranged so as to interfere minimally with the regular school activities. Students were summoned through call slips placed in the mailbox of the homeroom teachers the day before an appointment. They were permitted to postpone or to re-schedule appointments if these conflicted with critical class sessions, examinations or school activities. It was possible to schedule almost all the testing and counseling during the free periods of the students; the school administrators and teachers were most cooperative when, infrequently, students had to be scheduled during the regular class time.

Despite the complexity of this field project and the dangers that it could falter because it might impose too heavily on the regular activities of the school, the system of appointments worked surprisingly well. The atmosphere in the reserach testing was deliberately informal; the students seemed to enjoy coming to their appointments. They understood that they were volunteers and could withdraw at their own discretion; only a few failed to complete the program of testing. The students who became counselees were, for the most part, equally motivated in keeping their appointments. The year-long project schedule, of course, was not without its hazards; some of these will be mentioned in the last chapter.

Procedures for Collecting Data

The instruments and procedures used for data collection in each phase of research are listed in Table 3. The screening procedure which produced the final assignment of pupils to underachievement, par achievement, and overachievement groups was outlined earlier. The instruments listed in the Pre-Test column of Table 3 provided data both for comparing the achievement groups at the beginning of the research and as a baseline for assessing post-counseled as compared with non-counseled underachievers. The following instruments are standardized and will not be described here: School and College Ability Test (SCAT), the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS); the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB); the Allport-Vernon-Lindsey Study of Values (A-V);[2] and the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey.

The following instruments and procedures are less well known or, were specially devised or adapted:

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[2] We were fortunate to have available a version of the A-V developed by Dr. Jerome Levy, whose vocabulary and format had been modified for use by high school students. With permission from Dr. Gordon Allport and Dr. Levy, the Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts, kindly provided test booklets for this research.

TABLE 3

INSTRUMENTS USED TO COLLECT DATA

Screening Summer and Early Fall, 1960	Pretest Fall, 1960	Counseling Phase February-May 1961	First Post-Test Spring-Summer 1961	Second Post-Test Spring-Summer 1962
Academic Grades June, 1960	Academic Grades June, 1960 and Fall 1st quarter		Academic Grades June Finals, 1961	Academic Grades 2nd and 4th quarters, 1962
1st Assessment view (Tape Recorded)	1st Assessment Interview (continued)		2nd Assessment Interview	3rd Assessment Interview
	Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) (Tape Recorded)		TAT	TAT
	Q-Sort		Q-Sort	
	Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values (A-V)			A-V
	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey (G-Z)			G-Z
School and College Ability Test (SCAT)	Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB)	Counseling Interviews (tape recorded, later transcribed)		
The Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS)	Test of Imagination			
Cumulative School Records (previous grades, test scores, and teacher comments)	Strodtbeck V-Scale Cornell Work Values Inventory			

Q-Sort. A fifty-adjective Q-sort was carefully selected and pretested to be appropriate to the subjects in this research. A list of the adjectives used is found in Appendix A. Each subject sorted the adjectives three times according to the following directions:

1. Self: ...describe yourself as you see yourself today
2. Ideal: ...describe your ideal person - the person you would most like within yourself to be...
3. Teacher's Ideal: ...based on your experiences with teachers, describe how teachers would describe the ideal student, the student that teachers would like most to have in their classroom...

On the assumption that the Q-sort was especially sensitive to biases associated with the testing situation, the test was administered individually to all subjects by the same examiner; as a further precaution, the Q-sort was administered prior to the assessment interview and to all other instruments in the pre-test battery. Unfortunately, pressures of time prevented the same rigorous conditions from being maintained in the post-test administration of the Q-sort; here, subjects sorted their cards while sitting in small groups with different proctors.

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). This test was administered immediately prior to the assessment interview by the interviewer. The subjects' responses were recorded on the same tape with the assessment interview. Cards 1, 4, 6BM, 7BM, and 14 were administered in sequence to all subjects; the interviewer then, administered additional cards, which he judged would improve understanding of the subject. The TAT's for all subjects were transcribed into typed verbatim protocols.

Test of Imagination. (Published by Harvard University Press) This is a modified form of the Thematic Apperception Test adapted from research on motivation by McClelland, et. al., (1953). The pictures are designed to elicit themes that can be scored for need Achievement, need Affiliation, and need Power. This test was administered to all the subjects in small groups; the boys wrote their stories on the specially devised form.

Strodtbeck V-Scale. This attitude scale was devised by Strodtbeck (1958) to study the influences of ethnic background and family interaction on the values and achievement of children. The scale is reproduced in Appendix B. Its original 15 items have been slightly edited, and items 16-20 added.

The Cornell Work Values Scale. This is an inventory slightly modified from one developed by Rosenberg (1957). It requires the subject to rank order ideal job requirements for him. These requirements are phrased so as to represent various values for work. The copy of the inventory is found in Appendix C.

The Assessment Interview. The assessment interview was specially devised to elicit information from the interviewee on a variety of life-history topics. Its format (See Appendix D) is semi-structured. Certain standardized questions about school, self, future life, etc. are introduced, but the interviewer decides on the appropriate sequence for introducing these questions. The interviewee is encouraged to respond freely in as natural a conversational style as possible. Although flexible, the interview format was intended to produce data which could be coded and used in making systematic comparisons among interviewees.

Attached to the interview schedule is a summary sheet (See Appendix E) which the interviewer filled out immediately after the interview. His observations were intended to be part of the basic interview data. They had a more immediate practical use as well. The tape-recorded interview conversation could not be used for early screening decisions about the subjects; the interviewers' notes were thus one of the sources of information for screening decisions.

This interview schedule was modified for use in the first and second post-tests. The TAT and interviews in the first post-test were tape-recorded and transcribed; the second post-test interviews were tape-recorded but not transcribed.

School Records. The Oxford Schools maintain an excellent cumulative record system; the anecdotal and evaluative comments of the elementary and junior high school teachers were generally articulate and useful. The Project director scanned the cumulative records of all potential subjects; the decisions to exclude subjects because of academic handicaps or for possible emotional disturbances were an outcome, in part, of this scanning.

Assignment of Underachievers to Counseling or to Non-Counseled Groups

It will be recalled that the two-part design of this research provides first for the grouping and comparison of students who are classified as underachievers, par achievers, and overachievers. This classification was determined initially by the regression of grade point average on SCAT. The membership in these groups was further screened and refined through an analysis of the school records, the WAIS protocols, and the assessment interviewers' comments.

The second part of the research design, aimed to study counseling process and outcome, provided for splitting the underachievers into a counseled versus a non-counseled group. Initially 53 underachievers were assigned to counseling and 45 to a control group. Three counselees were excluded from the experimental counseling sample when it became evident that they would need more extensive clinical diagnostic and therapeutic help. To honor an ethical commitment, the counselor continued to work with them but also obtained clinical consultation. In the analyses which will follow, the counseled group will often be referred to as the Underachiever Experimental Sample (UAES); the non-counseled underachievers are referred to as Underachiever Controls (UAC). The final assignment to either of these groups was made in January of the school year, following the intensive assessment of all subjects.

After much deliberation it was decided to assign counselees by a case staffing procedure rather than by random selection. In part, this was determined by the nature of the school schedule. The counseling had to be scheduled during the student's free periods; it also had to be scheduled when one of the four research counselors would be available. Each of the main research counselors carried 15 cases; the director of the Project carried 8 cases. The logistics in scheduling even the 15 cases for one counselor became extremely complex; the scheduling problem for all 53 cases was enormous.

A prime consideration in assignment to counseling, with apologies to randomization, was whether free periods of the students to be counseled coincided with open slots on a master schedule. It is not known what functional bias this condition introduced into the counseling group, probably, not any. The procedure of staffing each case has its own merit in a counseling program. Among other uses, it enables staff members to pool information about each counselee. For example, to eliminate bias in the counseling relationship, the same staff member would not both conduct the assessment interview and counsel the same person. His findings were communicated to the boy's counselor at staff meetings where they could be evaluated against test and school record data and criticized by his colleagues. The counselor thus obtained prior case information about his counselees with some better assurance of its objectivity and comprehensiveness.

After the UAC groups were created, a check of the assessment data of subjects who were assigned to the UAES and the UAC groups indicate that they were quite comparable on aptitude, achievement, socioeconomic, and personality variables. Comparison of these groups will be delayed until Chapter V, in connection with the outcome of counseling. Chapter V also describes further the research design as it pertains to the study of counseling process and outcomes. The present chapter will conclude with a discussion of the concepts and of the statistical methods to be used for comparing the achievement groups.

Ego Adaptation and Academic Achievement

A postulate underlying the plan for this research is that an individual's level of academic achievement relative to his capacity for academic work is a function of ego strength. Ego strength is determined by the way certain psychological capacities and dispositions are structured within a personality. This structure is built and revised during a lifelong process of psycho-social development. In this study, evidence of differences in ego strength among these high school students will be represented in measures of interests, attitudes, values, and of certain cognitive variables. The data for these measures will be drawn from the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Strodtbeck V-Scale, The Study of Values, the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, the Q-Sort, the Thematic Apperception Test, and the Assessment Interview. The use of these instruments to measure ego variables involves a special extension and interpretation of psychoanalytic ego theory.

Traditional psychoanalytic theories of ego development have focused mainly on the functions of repression and inhibition, on the role of the ego in mediating instinctual conflicts and in defending the individual against threat and anxiety. Revisions of psychoanalytic theory by Hartman (1959), Rapaport (1959), and White (1963), while respecting this tradition, have assigned new significance to the ego functions of reality testing, synthesis, and adaptation. White and Hartman especially emphasize the active, exploratory character of ego processes. In White's view, at least, the ego is not merely a passive, uncertain monitor of a chaotic impulse life but actively engages objects in reality, seeking through such engagements to expand for the individual his "competence" (White's term) to guide and to govern his actions in accordance with what is real. White adduces evidence for the existence of basic ego energies and satisfactions which are independent of and just as fundamental to life as the libidinal energies. The ego develops not merely as the individual responds defensively to contain libidinal drives and to repress psychic conflict, but as he, in part out of curiosity, explores his environment, attempts novel actions, and assesses their consequences.

Hartman proposes the term "conflict-free ego sphere" to encompass that ensemble of functions which at any given time exert their effects outside the region of mental conflicts:

> "Not every adaptation to the environment and not every learning and maturation process is a conflict. I refer to the development outside of conflict, of perception, retention, object comprehension, thinking, language, recall-phenomena, productivity, to the well-known phases of motor development, grasping, crawling, walking, and to the maturation and learning processes in all these and in many others." (1959, p. 8)

Hartman also suggests how the synthetic functions of the ego, the coordination, integration, and selection among alternate courses of action are oriented significantly by the individual's values. Ordered into hierarchies, the values influence how an individual regulates his thinking and acting, and his efforts to master reality. Hartman says, "The hierarchies of values certainly...fulfill a role similar to that which logic plays in rational thinking in that they can coordinate tasks and means of solution." (1959, p. 75) Hartman indicates that different hierarchies may thus either hinder or facilitate adaptation. He sees the value hierarchies as switching-stations, points at which human behavior crystallizes. Human action presupposes not only purposeful regulation, but also efforts to reach goals which are set by the hierarchies of values.

Analogous to the concept of ego in adaptation is the idea from moral education of self-discipline. The connection is suggested in a passage from Educating the Good Man by E. B. Castle (1958).

> Freedom, I suggest, is the condition in which the self-disciplined man lives. The self-disciplined man is the man who thinks and acts within the boundary of certain limitations. These limitations may be imposed by physical circumstances, by the rights of others, by the moral codes under which we are born or which we devise for ourselves as we grow up. Such limitations may also be the means or rules by which we obtain some desired skill--the skills of the artist or batsman are good examples--by which obedience to the rules gives us the freedom to excel. Thus, the conditions of freedom are achieved by means of a discipline which we ultimately impose upon ourselves and call self-discipline. But this is almost certainly an end-product of external discipline, which is the sum of influences that we have

> accepted as sensible or which have been imposed on us by others, who claim to know, and often do know, what is good for us. It is most important to regard this external discipline not only as a group of thou-shalt-nots but also as a subtle complex of encouragement, guidance, and suggestion that helps to build up self-confidence in children. (1958, p. 365).

Two risks are then taken in applying such a viewpoint to the academic achievement problem. First, as suggested in Chapter 1, we risk imposing a specific set of values for achievement, disciplined behavior, etc., in the name of a supposedly objective behavioral science. Second, we may neglect Freud's powerful insights, dramatized most recently by Marcuse (1955) and by Brown (1959), concerning the painful and crippling effects the process of "learning" self-discipline may have on the human psyche. It needs to be repeated that, in the rationale for this research, academic achievement is regarded in the normal case to be useful, not morally necessary; and that a child's caretakers must be alert to all his needs as a human being, to the danger that in conditioning him to be a successful academic achiever, other of his fundamental human potentials may be stifled.

As we analyzed our data, particularly in the assessment and counseling interviews, the research staff remained alert to these risks. In fact, and here we anticipate a central finding, the successful achievers were found to be more insightful and unrepressed than the unsuccessful achievers. They wore their self-discipline comfortably. They shared the usual attributes of adolescents; but they evidenced a singular capacity to consider the implications of a problem situation and to direct their actions toward some deliberate resolution. The school presents the student with a sequence of tasks which he cannot avoid resolving without consequence. In this context, therefore, ego strength is seen to determine the student's disciplined capacity to deal with the requirements for learning and conduct imposed by the school, especially its academic curriculum. The measures of interest, attitudes, values, and of certain cognitive variables, although not direct measures of ego strength, are indicators of the degree to which a student probably possesses this capacity.

Interests, Attitudes, and Values as Common Ego Variables

At the inception of this study it was intended to construe interests, attitudes, and values to represent different levels of psychological (ego) functioning. We were unable, however, despite having Kluckhohn's (1952) admirable analysis of the value concept as an example, to establish consistent logical distinctions among the concepts of interests, attitudes, and values. Nor were these terms separately useful in efforts to group and to examine our data. Previous efforts in the social sciences to employ these terms as discrete concepts have also had a doubtful payoff. Super and Crites (1962) note that there is substantial overlap among these concepts and in the content of those instruments which purport to measure them.

It was thus decided to consider the various measures of interests, attitudes, and values to be dimensions within a common structure. Each scale, regardless of the title of the instrument in which it was located, was judged in terms of its appropriateness as a measure of certain ego qualities. On the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, for example, only the Restraint and Thoughtfulness scales were judged in terms of its appropriateness as a measure of certain ego qualities. On the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, for example, only the Restraint and Thoughtfulness scales were judged to be relevant indicators of how an individual's ego might function; the other G-Z scales-- Friendliness, Personal Relations, Masculinity, etc., were judged to be too remote in their meaning from the concept of ego.

The guidelines for judging which scales from the various instruments are relevant measures of ego structure and functioning may be found in the following list. These are drawn from the rationale for ego counseling set forth in Hummel (1962, p. 464). Ego development is accompanied by increases in the ability of a person to:

1) construe reality in increasingly accurate terms;
2) differentiate and impose complex meanings on reality and his own fantasy;
3) control impulse in the light of anticipated consequences;
4) immediate conflicting dispositions;
5) employ rational considerations in solving problems;
6) pursue remote goals in a dependable way;
7) achieve...a dynamic balance among psychic dispositions.

These seven aspects of adaptive ego functioning may be considered as both general aims of ego counseling and relevant variables on which to distinguish the attributes of underachievers from par achievers and overachievers.

A conventional strategy in research on academic achievement has been to distinguish between intellective and non-intellective determinants of variations among academic grades. In this research, the regression procedure which produced the discrepancy scores controls (in part) the intellective determinants. The ego variables to be measured on the interest, attitude, and value scales and on the scales specially derived from the Q-Sort, the TAT, and the assessment interview, might be classified as non-intellective determinants. Such classification would not harm this study.

Yet, we have not found it possible logically to maintain the distinction. For example, strength of n-Aggression as measured in the TAT can be called non-intellective, but the differing modes used by adolescents to control their aggression, as represented in the behavior of heroes in their TAT stories, seem to be determined by an interaction of both intellective and non-intellective processes. The problem of sorting out the determinants of variation in academic achievement is thus a specific case of the larger problem of studying the variation among individuals in ego functioning. The ego encompasses both ability and dispositional variables, intellective and non-intellective determinants.

A sufficient rationale for the use of measures of interests, attitudes, and values as indicators of ego functioning is beyond the scope of this report. More detailed arguments may be found in Sprinthall (1963) and in Whiteley (1964).

Ego Differences Related to Academic Achievement. A general hypothesis concerning the subjects in this study is that able male students who are successful academic achievers will differ from able male students who are unsuccessful academic achievers on the following attributes; the able achievers will have a greater:

1) understanding of their own abilities and disabilities
2) understanding of the requirements of school and of the world of adult work in relation to their own abilities and interests[2]

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[2] This hypothesis is directly related to the work of Super, et. al. (1957), on the concept of vocational maturity. See Super and Overstreet (1960) for a detailed analysis of data on the vocational maturity of adolescent boys. Hummel (1966) suggests how the concepts of vocational maturity and ego strength may be related. The data for this study, however, were not obtained or analyzed to study vocational maturity.

3) capacity to apply a rational, problem-solving strategy to life situations

4) capacity to control their immediate conduct in the interest of long-range objectives which for them have a higher value

5) capacity to be flexible, non-arbitrary in their planning and decision-making; but concomitantly, a greater capacity to carry out their plans and decisions resolutely and responsibly

6) willingness to accept the consequences of their own conduct

7) independence in analyzing problem situations and arriving at suitable solutions

8) sense of "agency," of competence to exert personal influence in their life (school) situations

The above are related logically to the guidelines set forth previously. They were not, however, deduced systematically nor was a particular hypothesis derived for each guideline. In general, the measures of interests, attitudes, values, and of certain cognitive variables are used to test hypotheses that the overachievers, in comparison with the par achievers, and both these groups in comparison with the underachievers, will be more disposed to intellectual activities, to be deliberate and planful in confronting tasks and choice situations, and to postpone immediate gratification in pursuit of more remote and comprehensive goals. The underachievers will be more strongly disposed toward "practical" activities and immediate concrete goals. They will be more arbitrary in their values. They will be less deliberate and planful in making decisions and in dealing with the rules and tasks imposed by the school.

Plan for Analyzing the Data on Ego Variables in Relation to Achievement Status

The findings on ego differences among the three achievement groups will be presented in Chapter III. Listed below are the hypothesized differences between the achievement groups on the standardized measures of interest, attitudes, and values, and on the specially devised or adapted instruments, namely, the TAT, the Q-Sort, and the Assessment Interview. Specific predictions and the reasoning behind them are detailed in Sprinthall (1963), Whiteley (1964), and Kehas (1964). An outline of the predicted differences among the achievement groups for the standard scales is found immediately below. This will be followed by a summary description of the procedures for analyzing the TAT, the Q-Sort, and the Assessment Interviews.

The Standardized Measures of Interests, Attitudes, and Values

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). On the following SVIB scales, overachievers will score the highest of the three groups, par achievers will score next highest, and underachievers will score lowest.[3]

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[3] The rank order for the three groups will remain the same for all succeeding predictions. If the overachievers are predictions to be highest, par achievers will always be predicted to rank next and underachievers lowest; if underachievers are predicted highest, par achievers will rank next and overachievers will be lowest. Thus there is predicted not merely a significant difference between two extreme groups but also a linear ranking of three achievement groups.

a. Group I, Biological Sciences. These scales include men in the following occupations: Artist, psychologist, physician, osteopath, dentist, and veterinarian.[4]

b. Group II, Physical Sciences. The scales for this group include: Mathematician, physicist, engineer, and chemist.

c. Group V, Social Services. The occupations in this key are YMCA Director, personnel director, public administrator, YMCA secretary, social science teacher, city school superintendent, social worker, and minister.

d. Interest Maturity. This scale measures the subject's similarity of interests to 25-year old males as compared with 15-year old males.

e. Occupational Level. This scale measures the subject's similarity of interests to men in professional groups as compared with men in unskilled occupations.

Underachievers will score the highest on:

f. Group IV, Technical Occupations. Farmer, aviator, printer, carpenter, mathematics-physical science teacher, industrial arts teacher, vocational agricultural teacher, policeman, and fireman.

g. Group VIII, Business. The occupations on this scale include accountant, office manager, purchasing agents, banker, mortician, pharmacist.

h. Group IX, Business Contact. Occupations on this key are sales manager, real estate salesman, and life insurance salesman.

No predictions are made for the following scales:

Group III, Production Manager
VI, Musician
VII, C.P.A.
X, Verbal-Linguistic Occupations
XI, President, Manufacturing Concern
Masculinity Scale

Strodtbeck-V Scale. It is predicted that overachievers will have the highest scores of the three groups on the two major factors derived by Strodtbeck:

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[4] The SVIB groups are named in accord with the classification derived by Darley (1955).

(1) mastery over environment; (2) independence from family ties. This prediction is basically a test of Strodtbeck's own findings.

The Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values (A-V). Predictions are made for five of the six AV scales, excluding the Religious scale.[5] Overachievers will score the highest of the three groups on the:

a. Theoretical Scale. This measures disposition toward rational thinking, intellectual activities, toward discovering "truth."

b. Aesthetic Scale. This measures interest in abstract qualities of form and harmony.

c. Social Scale. This measures social awareness, responsibility, and concern for people.

Underachievers will score the highest of the achievement groups on:

d. Economic Scale. This measures values for money and for useful activities.

e. Political Scale. This measures value for status, power, and civic action.

The Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey (G-Z). Overachievers will score the highest of the three groups on:

a. The Restraint Scale. This measures tendency to control one's behavior, to deliberate before acting.

b. The Thoughtfulness Scale. This scale has many items in common with the Restraint Scale. It measures the dispositions to think through complicated problems, to be serious minded, to search for reasons, and to plan ahead.[6]

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[5] It is assumed that the Religious Scale scores are not related to achievement status, particularly in view of the equal distribution of religious background across the achievement groups cited earlier. No previous research was found to suggest a relationship between Religious Scale scores and academic achievement.

[6] The Restraint and Thoughtfulness Scales have a moderately high intercorrelation (+.42); they share 10 items out of 29 in common.

No significant relationships were predicted for the eight other G-Z scales: General Activity, Ascendence, Sociability, Emotional Stability, Objectivity, Friendliness, Personal Relations, and Masculinity. Neither ego theory nor previous research provided a reason to expect the personality dispositions measured by these scales in a sample of normal subjects to be related to academic achievement. The statistical results to be reported later support this assumption: None of these eight scales examined by a one-way analysis of variance differentiated significantly across the three achievement groups.

Other Instruments in the Design

Thematic Apperception Test.[7] The TAT consists of a series of black and white pictures, purposely ambiguous in content, to which one at a time a subject imagines and relates a story. The TAT data for this study were in the form of verbatim stories (tape recorded and transcribed) about one to three paragraphs in length, told to each of five pictures. The TAT cards used in this analysis were as follows (from Murstein, 1963, p. 16):

1. A young boy is contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.

4. A woman is clutching the shoulders of a man whose face and body are averted as if he were trying to pull away from her.

6BM. A short, elderly woman stands with her back turned to a tall young man. The latter is looking down with a perplexed expression.

7BM. A grey-haired man is looking at a younger man who is sullenly looking into space.

14. The silhouette of a man (or woman) against a bright window.

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[7] The sections in this monograph using standardized measures of interest have leaned heavily on the dissertation by Sprinthall (1963) and an article by Hummel and Sprinthall (1965). This section and all sections dealing with the TAT, abstracts extensively from a dissertation by Whitely (1964) and an article by Whitely and Hummel (1965).

As a projective technique, the TAT has been a useful tool in psychological clinics. The investigator who would use TAT data to make systematic comparisons, however, confronts special problems in quantification. The usual strategy is to ask a judge to read and to code a story in accord with rules and categories prespecified by the investigator. A considerable variety of scoring systems has been set forth in the literature since Henry Murray first developed the TAT. An investigator often finds, however, as in this research, that the variables which are most relevant to his theory are not well represented in the schemes already published.

Scoring Procedure. The TAT scoring procedure devised for this research by Whiteley is a (significant) modification of Henry Murray's. The procedure has been developed to test the general hypothesis asserted earlier, namely, that holding certain intellectual and social factors constant, differences in level of academic achievement will depend significantly on the strength of such ego variables as the capacity to perceive reality accurately, to control impulse in the light of anticipated consequences, and to mediate conflict within self, and between self and environment, successfully. The scoring procedure comprises four sections (See Appendix G for a copy of the scoring blank used by the judges). The first decision a judge must make is whether or not the subject constructed a dynamic story and if the story conforms to the instructions. In the second section, the judge ascertains if any of the relevant Need or Press variables are present. If any are present, the judge determines in a third step if the hero of the story responded either adaptively or maladaptively to the need or press. An answer of "yes" to the following questions generally indicated that the hero's behavior in the TAT story was adaptive:

1. Was the hero's strategy of action one which included prior consideration of the consequences of his behavior?
2. Did the hero of the story appropriately assess the nature of the Press to which he was reacting?
3. Did the hero of the story cope with the situation in which the narrator of the story placed him?
4. Did the hero's consideration process reflect an awareness of the social realities of the situation in which he was placed?
5. Was the hero's reaction logically related to his long-range interests?

The final step involves ascertaining if the hero of the story accepted responsibility for his actions, if he can govern his impulses, and if he has sufficient energy to pursue his activities effectively. An answer of "yes" to the following questions generally indicated that the hero's behavior was adaptive:

1. Does the hero in the story accept responsibility for his behavior and its consequences?
2. Can the hero control his reactions to press from the environment or from his own impulses?

Design. As indicated in Table 3, each subject was administered the TAT at least twice, first in the fall and again following the counseling at the end of the school year. The subjects still in high school at the end of the second year were administered the TAT a third time. For analysis of the pre-counseling TAT data a random selection of 20 overachievers and 20 underachievers was made from the research sample. Par achievers were not included in this analysis.

Several steps were taken in order to achieve as high interscorer reliability as possible. Three scorers were selected for their competency in TAT interpretation. Careful training and retrial of the procedure was conducted to maximize interscorer reliability. It has been notorously difficult to obtain scores from TAT data sufficiently reliable to permit systematic comparisons among groups of subjects. The per cent of agreement finally obtained among these three raters in determining the presence of absence of needs and press range between .83 and .98. When assigning TAT stories to an adaptive-maladaptive category, the per cent of agreement among the raters ranged between .55 and .77. The Kendall Coefficient of Concordance was used to test the degree of overall association of three judges; the coefficients ranged from .56 to .67, all significant beyond the $p < .01$ level. These seemed sufficiently large for the purposes of analysis of these data, since it was possible to discuss the resolve among the three raters the comparatively few gross disagreements which occurred.

Detailed descriptions of the scoring procedure and of the test of its reliability can be found in Whitely (1964). The description here has been minimized to that necessary to understand the place of the TAT in the overall research design. The TAT data on differences between under- and overachievers will be reported in Chapter III. The pre- and post-counseling comparisons of TAT data will be found in Chapter V.

Q-Sort. The development of the instrument, the individual administration, and the analysis of data for the Q-sort all were carried out by Kehas and are reported in detail in his doctoral dissertation. A list of the adjectives appears in Appendix A. Although Kehas' work was an integral part of the research and he was one of the research counselors, he choose to analyze and interpret his data in terms of self-theory. In part, this was because the Q technique as developed by Stephenson (1953) lends itself readily to self-concept measurement; Butler and Haigh (1954), then working with Carl Rogers, were among the first in a long line of investigators to employ the Q-sort to measure self-concept and changes in self-concept as a function of counseling.

A useful although not quite sufficient summary of the research on self-concept can be found in Wylie (1961).

Kehas also used self-theory, because he believed it to be more relevant than other theories to his problem. One of his main purposes was to clarify how experience in the school environment, particularly the experience of being either a successful or a disappointing student, might correlate with varying ways students conceptualize their own attributes. Kehas was concerned with the language used by educators to discuss underachievement, with its implication that something is "wrong" with underachievers--with their character or mental health. He wished to contribute to an enlarged perspective, one in which the schools' expectations for achievement might be critically re-examined and in which the student's own values, regardless of his achievement status, might be given more respectful attention.

Kehas analyzed his data in two parts. In the first part, he compared the achievement groups on the correlations among the three card sorts. Here are abstracts of two of his predictions:

1. A student's self-concept--the correlation between his description of self and his description of the person he would most like to be--is not related to his achievement status.
2. There are significant differences between the ways students in different achievement statuses define themselves in the school situation; correlations between description of self and description of teacher's ideal will differ significantly among the achievement groups.

Kehas thus hypothesized that in their "self-concepts," the process by which they organize generalizations about themselves and their ideal selves, they think as would a range of male adolescents; they are undistinguishable on an achievement status dimension. Their "concepts of self" in relation to their specific situation in the school, however, will differ significantly in relation to achievement status.

In the second part of his analysis, Kehas studied whether the weightings given to individual adjectives among the pool of 50 items differed among the various achievement groups. He hypothesized that:

3. Students in different achievement groups would use significantly different orders of adjectives to define (a) themselves, (b) their ideal of self and (c) the attributes teachers would prefer in an ideal student.

Kehas also postulated that the differences in adjectives which he would find would not represent psychological health vs. illness but would reflect different value orientations. He did not indicate whether the differing adjective patterns might be explainable in terms of ego theory. An attempt to reinterpret his data in an ego framework will be made in Chapters III and VI.

Assessment Interview. The schedule for the assessment interview, which was described earlier, is found in Appendix D. The interview summary sheet found in Appendix E is intended to code the entries on this sheet for systematic comparison among such subjects. Unfortunately, it was not put into use until about one-fourth of the assessment interviews had been completed; and due to the pressure of their interview schedule, the assessment interviewers often neglected to fill out the summary at the time of contact. The summary sheet was thus used only for individual case assignment and analysis.

A promising method for coding and generalizing the assessment interview content is found in Appendix F. This procedure has been designed to obtain as much systematic information about certain ego characteristics of the interviewee and his perceptions about certain of his life situations. The procedure focuses on how the student perceives certain people and conditions, specifically in relation to himself; the rater attempts to determine, for example, whether the student sees a teacher as fair to him, not whether he thinks the teacher is generally fair. The perceptions and attributes of the interviewee were categorized under the following general headings:

1. Relationships with family members.
2. School, work and other interests.
3. The focus of responsibility and control for his decisions and actions.
4. The extent to which relationships with his parents seem to influence his behavior and important decisions.
5. The extent to which his goals were specific and he was aware of the supports and obstacles to their attainment.
6. The extent to which values toward education and work were intrinsic (feeling of accomplishment, knowledge for knowledge's sake), vs. extrinsic or instrumental (money, power, colleges, as a gateway to a good job).
7. The extent to which his concepts of people and institutions with which he was directly related were either differentiated, stereotyped or amorphous.

Over half the judges' ratings of the assessment interview data were made in terms of Osgood's (1958) three basic factors of activity, potency, and evaluation. In his study of the dimensions of semantic space, Osgood found these factors to explain most of the variance in human judgment. Osgood's semantic measurement procedure has been used in attitude and in personality measurement and in several kinds of communications research. In this interview rating scheme, the three factors provide, so to speak, a set of metaperspectives for judging the interview content. The judge classifies a particular array of perceptions or attributes along each of three dimensions. For example, in his relationship with his father, the subject is first scored along a continuum of "involvement-detachment" (activity); then the judge rates whether the father is, in the perception of the student, of strong or weak influence on him (potency). The judge then asks, for the interviewee, questions such as: "Is my father's influence good or bad for me (evaluation)?" In evaluation of things or situations, other appropriate dimensions may be fair-unfair, or interesting-dull.

A considerable amount of information about the interviewee was systematized with this scheme. It helped that the interview protocols were verbatim transcriptions from the tape-recordings. The findings are reported in Chapter III.

Cornell Work Values Scale. The responses to the 12 ideal job requirements on this scale (see Appendix C) were ordered in six-fold chi-square tables, three achievement groups by three ranks of job importance. Eleven of the 12 statements did not significantly distinguish across the achievement groups. The Scale may tap only some socially desirable dimensions on which there is general agreement. When the achievement groups were combined into one high school student group, they ranked as most important the values (1) "full use of special abilities;" (2) "a stable secure future." This matches the ranking of the college students in Rosenburg's study at Cornell (1957). The Work Values Scale thus may be measuring in these data only socially desirable job requirements which have no particular relation to academic achievement status. No further reference will be made in this report to this Scale.

Test of Imagination. The protocols from this test were carefully scored for n-Achievement in accord with the procedure suggested by McClelland. No significant differences were found either among the achievement groups or between the first and second administrations for each achievement group. Perhaps as will be evidenced in the TAT data in Chapter III, it is inappropriate to expect differences among adolescents on the n-Achievement variable itself. Ego-theory suggests that differences might be found, however, in how the needs are expressed or controlled. It may also be that writing in longhand constrains their production of scorable themes. The Test of Imagination was administered, however, under hospitable conditions; there were no known distractions from normally motivated performance. Because of these findings, the Test of Imagination will not be considered any further in this report.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF THE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS ON MEASURES OF EGO CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter will report the results from testing the relation between achievement status and various measures of ego characteristics. The data will be presented in the same sequence with which the measuring instruments were described in Chapter II; discussion will follow the results from each instrument. It will be recalled from Chapter II, that regardless of whether the formal title of the instrument purports to measure interests, or attitudes, or values, these concepts will not remain distinct in these data, selected scales from each of these instruments are postulated to measure certain ego characteristics. Hypotheses consonant with ego theory have been either asserted or implied with reference to certain scales.

Results from the Standardized Measures of Interests, Attitudes, and Values

The predictions on these measures were tested by two procedures: a three-group one-way analysis of variance, and a rank order of the group mean scores. An overall F ratio significant beyond the .05 level indicates that the chances of producing differences as large or larger than the observed differences across the three mean scores is less than five chances in one hundred.[1]

The group means were also examined to see if the three groups arrayed themselves in the predicted direction (i.e., overachievers highest, par achievers next, underachievers lowest, or the reverse order). The rank order indicates to what extent the differences in mean scores may have a linear relation to achievement status. This is based on the assumption that the three achievement groups represent three points on a continuum from low to high achievement and that the measures of ego characteristics follow the same order.

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[1] Traditionally this test of significance has been preceded by Bartlett's test of homogeneity of variance. Recent research using so-called Monte-Carlo Techniques has demonstrated that the F test is extremely insensitive even to major departures from homogeneity (McNemar, 1962). Thus, Bartlett's test will not be used.

If the F ratio is significant, and if the rank order of the three groups is in the predicted direction, the prediction will be sustained. The two criteria for significance thus complement each other. If the F ratio is significant we can conclude that the three sets of scores are not drawn from the same population. "This is, of course, equivalent to saying that the several group means considered simultaneously differ significantly among themselves" (McNemar, 1962, p. 267). McNemar also asserts that if a rank order is predicted for the group means, "additional credence can be placed in the results if the means follow this ordering" (1962, p. 267). The analysis of variance technique itself does not, of course, presuppose an _a prior_ ordering of several groups.

After each prediction had been subjected to an empirical test, multi-discriminant analysis was used to provide information not available from the variance tests. A separate discriminant analysis was performed for the _SVIB_, the _Study of Values_, and the _Guilford-Zimmerman_. The technique provides a method to inquire how similar or different groups of students are on the measuring instruments. This is useful not to test theory or specific predictions, but to answer the general question of the efficacy of a test battery in distinguishing among groups. The multivariate procedure may provide additional data because of its special characteristics. Tiedeman (1951) notes that these techniques will select from a large number of dimensions on a test, only the variables which discriminate across the groups. The "fail-safe" property insures that discriminant analysis derives only the number of functions necessary to describe "real" group differences.

Rulon (1951) points out that this technique maximizes the between group variance and is, therefore, appropriate when the question asked has to do with group characteristics but not with the question of relationship to an outside criterion of goodness. Cooley (1962) observes that one of the weaknesses in previous research has been the failure to use multivariate techniques when analyzing group differences across two or more dimensions. The univariate or bi-variate statistical models may not only ignore the within group variance, but also may mask information concerning group differences. In analyzing the results from the standardized measures of interests, attitudes, and values, therefore, the multi-discriminate analysis technique was used to complement the other procedures.[2]

Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). All the relevant scores on the SVIB appear in Table 4. Four of the expected relationships were realized and four were not. The overachievers are significantly higher than the other groups on the Social Welfare, Interest Maturity, and Occupational Level Scales. Their interests thus resemble more than the members of the other groups, the interests of 25 year olds as compared with 15 year old men; and they are more similar than the other groups to men in higher level professional careers as compared with blue collar

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[2] Both the advantages and difficulties of the technique are illustrated by Cooley (1962, pp. 119-121). In examining scaled vec[illegible] 1 the weights for the major discriminant, it is clear that the most important weight "explains" much of the variance. The meaning of the second major weight cannot really be explained. In this instance, the technique efficiently discriminates between groups, is "fail-safe," and provides an extremely accurate way of making certain kinds of predictions from test scores; but we have no theory for "explaining" the factors which emerge in the discriminant patterns.

TABLE 4

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE RATIOS AND PREDICTION RESULTS

THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS: 14 STRONG SCALE GROUPS

Strong Groups	UA (N=94)	BA (N=24)	OA (N=28)	F Ratio (2+143ndf)	Prediction Results
I. Biological Sciences	195.71	197.50	209.17	0.67	Not Sustained
	48.79	62.69	60.51		
II. Physical Science	98.60	111.37	121.53	2.19	Not Sustained
	46.77	54.43	65.95		
III. Production Manager	33.33	33.71	32.42	0.18	No Prediction
IV. Technical	273.98	266.33	251.25	0.71	Not Sustained
	86.94	83.49	96.16		
V. Social Service	175.70	191.71	224.75	3.20*	Sustained
	95.16	72.82	84.21		
VI. Musician	33.07	35.87	36.82	2.10	No Prediction
	9.16	11.38	8.36		
VII. C.P.A.	26.36	30.12	31.67	3.89*	No Prediction
	9.85	8.81	9.82		
VIII. Business	228.60	219.75	209.46	2.15	Not Sustained
	41.58	47.51	46.48		
IX. Business Contact	106.81	99.37	90.64	4.88**	Sustained
	23.01	28.49	25.33		
X. Verbal-Linguistic	100.50	104.21	103.50	0.33	No Prediction
	23.61	24.74	23.83		
XI. Pres. Mfg.	33.30	31.50	30.50	1.26	No Prediction
	8.51	7.61	10.37		
XII. Interest Maturity	45.40	47.54	50.07	3.18*	Sustained
	9.80	5.85	6.83		
XIII. Occupational Level	52.00	54.08	55.57	3.43*	Sustained
	6.48	6.09	7.60		
XIV. Masculinity	51.91	51.16	47.50	2.72	No Prediction
	8.34	9.57	9.29		

*Indicates F significance of < .05. ** Indicates F significance of <.01. Note: The Strong groups are named according to the Darley classification (1955).

workers. They also resemble more highly men who are in career lines which require social concern and responsibility.

Underachievers scored significantly higher than the other groups on the Business Contact Scales. They are thus more similar in their interests to men in real estate and life insurance fields and to sales managers.

The overall significance of the SVIB data is enhanced by the way the groups were rank ordered on all eight scales for which a prediction was made. Although the differences were significant on only four of the eight scales, the rank order on all scales was in the predicted direction. On every predicted scale the par achievers scored between the underachievers and the overachievers. The chance probability of three groups being accurately rank ordered across eight dimensions is extremely rare (.17 to the eighth power).[3]

The multiple discriminant technique was also applied to all 14 SVIB Scales. The Wilkes Lambda criterion, the most general test of the discrimination power of test dimensions, was derived. The Lambda was 0.648 with a ratio of +2.24 (28 and 260 ndf); this is significant beyond the .001 level. The chance of producing group differences this large or larger by drawing three random samples from a fourteen dimensional multivariate group of points is less than one in one thousand. On an overall basis, the SVIB scales significantly discriminate across the three achievement groups. The multivariate analysis thus complements the evidence in the univariate analysis procedures that the observed differences are significant.

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[3] The exact probabilities may be somewhat reduced since the SVIB scales are not completely independent. The Interest Maturity, and Occupational Level scales, for example, share items with some of the 11 occupational keys. Even if the exact probability cannot be defined, the chance probability is still extremely unlikely.

Strodtbeck V-Scale. Since this scale was modified by the addition of five items , an independent factor analysis was performed. The items in the V-Scale were subjected to a principle component factor analysis; three of the resulting factors were rotated using the varimax criterion.[4] The three factors accounted for 78.64 % of the trace. Table 5 lists the items and the factor loadings.

The first factor is apparently made up of items dealing with independence from family ties or, in a general sense, adherence to authority. This factor is quite similar to the dimension which Strodtbeck identified as "unwillingness to break family ties." In fact, the first four items are the same for both dimensions; the last three are items which were added to Strodtbeck's original scale.

The second factor contains items which measure a positive orientation to planning, to master one's fate, and to the value of education and learning. This is similar to Strodtbeck's second factor, which he called mastery over the environment.

The third factor is determined almost exclusively by two very similar questions dealing with a work-success ethic. There is a moderate similarity to one of Strodtbeck's minor factors called delay of gratification, although the questions are not directly comparable.

The factor analysis suggests that the items in this instrument measure three factors identified as: (1) Adherance to authority; (2) Positive

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[4] This work was done in part of the Computation Center, MIT, Cambridge, Mass., with the assistance of Dr. Robert Harriott, then at the Harvard Grad. School of Education, currently at Florida State University.

TABLE 5

V-SCALE FACTOR ITEMS AND LOADINGS

Items: Factor I	Factor Loadings I	II	III
3. Even if a teenager gets married their main loyalty should still belong to their mothers and fathers.	-.32	.05	.21
4. The best kind of job to have is one where you are part of an organization, all working together even if you don't get individual credit.	-.36	.07	-.13
5. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents, even if it means giving up a good job.	-.52	-.09	-.09
7. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.	-.62	-.06	.18
15. A good teacher's job is to keep his students from wandering from the right track.	-.35	-.25	.07
16. The worst thing about a lazy student is that he is letting his parents down.	-.43	-.08	.05
19. It helps the child in the long run if he is made to accept his parents' ideas.	-.33	-.06	.14
Items: Factor II			
1. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out.	.01	-.37	.13
2. When a man is born, the success he's going to have is already in the cards, so he might as well accept it and not fight against it.	-.10	-.28	.07
8. Nowadays, with the world the way it is, the smart person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.	-.15	-.50	.01
9. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.	-.24	+.42	.06

Note: In general, factor loadings above plus or minus .25 are considered significant for this summary. This apparently was the criterion used by Strodtbeck (1958, p. 169).

TABLE 5--Continued

Items: Factor II (cont.)	Factor Loadings		
	I	II	III
10. Parents expect too much of their children.	-.05	-.42	-.06
13. All I want out of life is a steady job that's not too hard and one that pays me enough to buy a nice car and comfortable home.	-.12	-.45	-.04
Items: Factor III			
11. There's nothing a person can't be or do if he really wants to and works hard to do it.	-.17	.22	.73
14. To benefit from his courses, a student should have a clear idea of what he intends to do when he gets out of high school.	-.10	-.20	.26
18. Students sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them.	.01	-.10	.26
20. A person can attain anything in life if he wants it hard enough.	-.19	.07	.78

Note: Three questions did not significantly load on any of the three factors: items 6, 12, and 17.

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF AGREEMENT TO ATTITUDE SCALE FACTORS (THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS)

Percent of Agreement to Factor I Items

	Items[a]						
	3	4	5	7	15	16	19
Overachievers	28%	25	14	7	53	25	21
Par achievers	25	29	0	8	50	33	17
Underachievers	21	43	11	8	57	44	24

Percent of Disagreement to Factor II Items

	Items[b]					
	1	2	8	9	10	13
OA	100%	100	89	11	75	93
PA	92	100	96	25	63	84
UA	87	92	81	26	51	75

Percent of Agreement to Factor III Items

	Items[c]			
	11	14	18	20
OA	68%	64	64	54
PA	58	71	54	46
UA	73	78	67	62

[a] Agreement with the items indicates an unwillingness to break family ties, and an adherent attitude toward authority.

[b] Disagreement with items 1, 2, 8, 10, 13, and agreement with item 9, indicate a positive orientation to planning.

[c] Agreement with the items indicates a positive orientation to work-success.

orientation to planning, to education, and to mastery over the environment; and (3) Positive orientation to work-success.

To determine whether achievement status was related to agreement with the factors, a preliminary analysis was conducted before computing factor scores. The per cent of agreement across achievement groups was derived from the items within each factor. Table 6 illustrates that the items for the second factor tend to separate the groups; the differences in response to the items for the other two factors seem to be random.

On all of the second factor items the overachievers have a more positive attitude toward planning, mastery, and education than the underachievers. In every case but one (i.e., item 8), the overachievers were higher or equal to the par achievers. Because the trend appeared highly probable and partially replicated one of Strodtbeck's findings, factor scores on Factor II were computed for each student and a one-way analysis of variance technique was used to examine statistically the observed differences. Table 7 presents

TABLE 7

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR FACTOR II SCORES
(THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS)

Source of Variation	Sums of Squares	ndf	Variance Estimate
Between	27.11	2	13.55
Within	252.24	142	1.77
Total	279.35	144	F=7.631, < .01

Note: The factor scores were: OA mean, -.88, sd., 1.12; EA mean, -.28, sd., .93; UA mean, +.21, sd., 1.45.

The F ratio was 7.63, $p<.01$. The achievement groups are significantly different on Factor II scores. Overachievers evidence a more positive attitude toward planning and mastery than the other groups. The rank order was in the predicted direction.

The V-Scale is seen to measure three factors: (1) Adherence to authority; (2) Positive orientation to planning, education and mastery over the environment; (3) Positive orientation to work-success. The achievement groups were significantly different on the second factor only.

Noteworthy is the lack of significant differences on the factor adherence to authority. This result is directly at odds with Strodtbeck's study (1958) and inconsistent with Perry's research (1959). In the present study, underachievers, par achievers and overachievers all were consistent in disowning unswerving loyalty to their parents in a variety of circumstances. They reject arbitrary adherence to authority. Such attitudes are consistent across all achievement groups in this sample.

The second factor is more consistent than the first. Overachievers are more likely to reject "fate" as a determining force in their lives. Not one overachiever agreed with either of the first two questions. The same general trend was apparent in the other items. Overachievers apparently have a more positive attitude than the other groups toward planning, toward mastery over the environment, and toward the importance of education and learning.

On the third factor there was no significant separation. The traditional values for hard work and success, the so-called Protestant ethic, as measured here are apparently not related to school achievement. This is quite a tentative conclusion, since the factor contained

TABLE 8

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE RATIO, AND PREDICTION RESULTS THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS: SIX STUDY OF VALUES SCALES

	UA (N=95)	PA (N=24)	OA (N=28)	F Ratio (ndf 2+144)	Prediction Results
Theoretical	40.15	41.67	43.93	2.95	Not sustained
	6.79	7.63	8.67		
Economic	41.14	40.00	34.68	8.35**	Sustained
	7.34	7.60	7.97		
Aesthetic	42.50	43.75	41.75	0.35	Not sustained
	8.54	10.37	7.10		
Social	40.55	41.33	42.07	0.60	Not sustained
	6.34	6.00	8.19		
Political	40.07	35.92	38.46	5.56*	Not sustained
	5.28	6.96	5.17		
Religious	35.36	37.29	38.93	2.17	No prediction
	8.90	6.15	7.73		

*Indicates $F < .01$.

**Indicates $F < .001$.

only two questions which were so similar that they may be, in fact, a slightly different phrasing of essentially the same attitude.

Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. Table 8 summarizes the results for all six AV scales; only one of the five predictions were sustained. The instrument as a whole failed to differentiate the value preferences among the three achievement groups. The Economic Scale was the single dimension on which the groups differentiated significantly and in the rank order predicted. This finding has a complex meaning: the differences resulted apparently from the fact that the overachievers score significantly below the standard norm for the test (mean of 40), while the par achievers and underachievers are close to these norms. An additional problem of interpretation is in the fact that the scales themselves are not independent. They are ipsative; a high or low score on one dimension automatically influences a decrease or increase in another.

Of special interest is the meaning of each subject's profile on the six A-V scales. It is noteworthy that the scores of the underachievers on each of the five predicted dimensions show almost no variation from the mean of the norm group. Allport (1951) suggests that a relatively flat profile may indicate a lack of developed value orientations within the individual. He believes that only the larger peaks or depressions in the scales are significant, especially because of their ipsative character. If the assumption is accepted that a flat profile may reflect amorphous or uncrystalized values, then a new interpretation is possible. The undelineated value scores of the underachievers may signify their lack of incentive to pursue school tasks associated with the values measured by the A-V.

The low scores of the overachievers on the Economic Scale may signify a value orientation which is advantageous in school. The Economic Scale

TABLE 9

MULTI-DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY OF VALUES: THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS

Value Scale	Scaled Vector Weights Function I	Scaled Vector Weights Function II
Theoretical	-.31	-36.73
Economic	73.46	-37.54
Aesthetic	43.48	-43.59
Social	24.85	-32.96
Political	3.86	-23.41
Religious	18.36	-41.72
Percentage of trace	65.11%	34.98%

Wildes Lambda = .773   F = 3.17 (12+228 ndf)   < .001.

measures orientation to practical and utilitarian value considerations. But academic courses are not readily translatable into practical outcomes. The overachievers are thus more likely than other students to pursue academic tasks without requiring an immediate practical payoff for their efforts.

The results from the discriminant analysis also evidence that the Ecomonic Scale is a significant dimension. The Wilkes Lambda criterion was significant (.773) with an F ratio of 3.17 < .001. The first discriminant analysis function accounted for 65% of the trace. The Economic Scale has the largest scaled vector weight on the first function (73.46). Table 9 summarizes the discriminant results; they evidence that the group separation is significant and that the Economic Scale is the major factor producing separation.[5]

A Comparison of Teachers and Students on the Study of Values. Explored in this section are the possible relationships in these data among the values of teachers and their bright students, who are classified on the three levels of academic performance. This study is not central in the basic research design and may perhaps confound the outline for the reader. But it casts light on a typical question associated with underachievement, namely, how much does success in school (both the intrinsic kind and the mere attainment of good grades) depend on sharing the values of the teachers. The issue is sometimes propagandized, namely, it is asserted that teachers favor with higher grades students who imitate and share their values. An objective

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[5] It is not possible to interpret the meaning of the other weights. About all that can be said is that the other scales may contain useful information that would not be available from the traditional univariate or bivariate statistical models (Cooley, 1962).

TABLE 10

MULTI-DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS
A-V Study of Values: Teachers and Three Achievement Groups

Values Scale	Scaled Vector Weights Function I	 Function II	 Function III
Theoretic	6.10	83.05	32.19
Economic	115.93	-2.58	49.42
Aesthetic	-7.02	-19.59	35.76
Social	39.99	46.95	19.06
Political	5.15	40.73	-75.34
Religious	18.22	65.07	36.67
Per cent of trace	82.95%	10.03%	7.01%

Lambda = 0.6310, F = 7.61 (ndf., 18+775.4), sig. < .0001.

inquiry would ask to what degree having values similar to those of his educators is associated with a student's academic effort and success. The A-V data available for this analysis may help to clarify the issue a little but will hardly settle it. No specific predictions are tested here, merely the general hypothesis that successful achievers are more likely to share certain values with teachers. The second and probably more important aspect of the analysis, asks what values may be shared.[6]

To examine the significance of overall differences among four groups--teachers and the three achievement groups--the discriminant technique was used. The Wilkes Lambda was .6310, +F ratio; 7.61, $< .0001$. This means that there are significant differences in the Study of Values among the four groups. The first discriminant function accounted for 52.95% of the trace. The Economic Scale was by far the largest scaled vector weight on this function. The results are summarized in Table 10.

The one-way analysis of variance technique indicates that the Economic scale is the most significant score in differentiating across the groups (i.e., the F ratio for the Economic Scale was 35.91, $p < .0001$). These results are summarized in Table 11. On this scale

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[6] Teachers in the college preparatory program in both high schools were tested with the same form of the Study of Values (Levy Modification) used with their students. The testing was conducted in the schools; 136 teachers were included. The breakdown of the teacher sample is:

Sex	Subject					
	Math-Sci	Eng.	Foreign Lang.	Social Studies	Art & Music	Counselors
Male	28	18	10	19	2	4
Female	12	17	16	1	2	7

TABLE 11

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE RATIOS

STUDY OF VALUES: TEACHERS AND THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS

Values Scale	Teachers (N=136)	Over-Achievers (N=28)	Par Achievers (N=24)	Under-Achievers (N=95)	F Ratio (ndf. 3+279)
Theoretical	41.84 7.57	43.98 8.67	41.67 7.63	40.15 6.79	2.12
Economic	31.18 7.65	34.68 7.97	40.00 6.70	41.14 7.34	35.91**
Aesthetic	49.88 8.47	41.75 7.10	43.75 10.37	42.50 8.54	17.46**
Social	40.23 6.94	42.07 8.19	41.33 6.00	40.55 6.34	.067
Political	37.67 5.81	38.46 5.17	35.92 6.96	40.07 5.28	5.02*
Religious	37.57 10.05	38.93 7.73	37.39 6.15	35.36 8.90	1.58

*Indicates F ratio < .01.

**Indicates F ratio < .0001.

the teachers are most distant from the standard mean of 40, negatively on the Economic scale and positively on the Aesthetic scale. The overachievers as a group resemble the teachers more than the other groups, primarily because they also have low Economic scores. The Aesthetic scores are not significantly different across the three achievement groups.

One further step was followed in analyzing the results. A classification procedure was used to illustrate the extent of group separation.[7] The H CLASSIF technique developed by Cooley computes four discriminant scores for each person. A probability is derived which indicates to which of the foor a priori groups the individual is most similar. Each person is thus classified in the group for which he has the most congruent value score. Table 12 contains the classification results. Along the diagonal are distributed the numbers of cases in the actual groups who are accurately assigned. The procedure represents a measure of concurrent validity since it indicates the accuracy of group membership based on the four discriminant scores. The table can most easily be interpreted in terms of "hits" and "misses"; for example, the "hit" rate for teachers was almost 80% and for underachievers almost 70% (reading down the diagonal).

The results indicate that the Study of Values distinguishes between teachers and student groups with a high degree of accuracy. The most important dimension of the test is the Economic scale. Teachers have the lowest scores on the scale with overachievers next lowest; par achievers and underachievers have the highest scores. Using the

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[7] This is only one possible method. Another way to measure the degree of separation between the groups is to plot the centroids and dispersions. The significance of the distance between contours can then be measured by chi-square. See Cooley (1962, pp. 134ff).

TABLE 12

CLASSIFICATION OF TEACHERS AND THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS BASED ON DISCRIMINANT SCORES OF THE STUDY OF VALIES

	Predicted Group Classification			
Actual Groups	Teachers	OA	PA	VA
Teachers (N=136)	108 (79.4%)	0	2(1.5)	26(19.1)
Overachievers (N=28)	18 (64.3%)	1(3.6)	0	9(32.1)
Par Achievers (N=24)	8 (33.3%)	0	1(4.2)	15(62.5)
Underachievers (N-95)	26 (27.3%)	3(3.2)	0	66(69.5)

Note: The teachers who were misclassified were as follows:

Sex	Subject					
	Guidance	Math & Science	English	Foreign Language	Social Studies	Art & Music
Male	0	9	1	5	5	0
Female	0	5	0	3	0	0

On an over-all basis, 25.3% of men and 14% of women teachers were misclassified. From the standpoint of subject taught, math-science (35%) and foreign language (30%) were the largest groups erroneously grouped. To derive a valid explanation for these mis-classifications, further intensive analysis would be required into such variables as years of professional experience, years in this school system, etc. This information is not available from the sample.

classification procedure, teachers and overachievers are most similar. Almost eighty per cent of the teachers were accurately classified. Most of the overachievers were misclassified. Instead of being grouped as overachievers, 62.5 % of the overachievers were classified as teachers. There is apparently a substantial overlap of membership in the value orientations of the two groups. Underachievers (69.5%) and par achievers (62.5%) are also similar to the observe directions; most underachievers were accurately classified but most par achievers were grouped with the underachievers. This indicates that these two groups are similar to each other and dissimilar to either overachievers or teachers.

Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey (G-Z). The prediction for both the Restraint and the Thoughtfulness scales on the G-Z were sustained; none of the other eight scales differentiated the achievement groups. Table 13 summarizes the results for all ten scales. The results suggest that the overachievers value deliberative, thoughtful, planful activity to a much greater degree than the other groups; yet they do not seem to be any less well adjusted, at least in terms of such scales as Emotional Stability and Masculinity. The rank order among the groups suggests that these G-Z scales also have a linear relationship with level of academic achievement.

The multi-discriminant technique confirms the importance of the Restraint scale. The Wilkes Lambda criteria was .6704, the F ratio 2.98 < .001. The percentage of trace for the first function was 83.02. The largest scaled vector weight on this function was the Restraint scale, 97.98. The discriminant results are summarized in Table 14. Not unexpectedly, the Thoughtfulness Scale contributed the second largest weight on the function.

TABLE 13

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE RATIOS AND PREDICTION RESULTS ON THE Guilford-Zimmerman Scales: Three Achievement Groups

	Achievement Groups			F Ratio (ndf=2+144)	Prediction Results
	UA	PA	OA		
General Activity	45.83 10.22	47.62 9.20	46.75 12.87	0.30	No Prediction
Restraint	44.65 8.92	47.96 8.07	57.71 9.32	23.46*	Prediction Sustained
Ascendance	50.35 10.82	50.79 9.51	50.04 9.84	0.03	No Prediction
Sociability	48.16 10.68	46.83 9.46	45.39 10.94	0.79	No Prediction
Emotional Stability	46.75 8.69	46.04 9.76	47.50 6.93	0.19	No Prediction
Objectivity	45.99 8.82	48.29 7.27	44.43 9.40	1.28	No Prediction
Friendliness	44.65 9.44	47.42 7.71	48.54 10.24	2.27	No Prediction
Thoughtfulness	46.61 9.76	52.50 11.63	55.39 9.67	9.74*	Prediction Sustained
Personal Relations	41.71 10.16	42.58 9.57	41.61 8.71	0.09	No Prediction
Masculinity	48.92 8,25	51.54 9.36	46.75 8.58	2.05	No Prediction

*Indicates F ratio, < .001.

TABLE 14

MULTI-DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS OF THE GUILFORD ZIMMERMAN: THREE ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS

Scales	Scaled Vector Weights Function I	 Function II
General Activity	23.60	11.43
Restraint	97.98	-24.27
Ascendance	-11.46	6.59
Sociability	15.74	-21.86
Emotional Stability	6.10	-48.57
Objectivity	-14.15	57.58
Friendliness	4.95	7.69
Thoughtfulness	26.53	55.53
Personal Relations	-3.76	6.04
Masculinity	-14.94	40.77
Percentage of trace	83.02%	16.97%

Wilkes Lambda = .6704 F = 2.98 (20+270 ndf) < .001

Results from other Measures of Ego Characteristics

The analyses of the TAT, Q-Sort and assessment interview data are intended to complement the analyses in the preceeding section. They provide different kinds of observations relevant both to the same ego characteristics as measured by the standardized scale and, hopefully, to some additional ones. The result of using a variety of instruments is to develop a more comprehensive and valid perspective on the problems of underachievement, of counseling and the relation between the two. The findings on the following instruments are intended both to complement and to correct interpretations of the data on the standardized scales.

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). It will be recalled from Chapter II that the comparisons of the achievement groups on the TAT data were made on a randomly selected sample of 20 underachievers and 20 overachievers; the par achievers were not studied in this analysis. (The main study of counseling outcome on the TAT data reported in chapter V, was made on a sample of 20 randomly selected counseled underachievers and 20 non-counseled underachievers.)

No significant differences were found between the achievement groups in simple occurrence of either needs or press in the frequencies with which the subjects constructed a dynamic story. The adolescent conflicts certering around pDominance, pAggression, nAchievement, nAggression, and nAutonomy, in the stories of both superior achievers and underachievers were equally well represented. The energy with which the heroes of both groups responses to the particular needs and press was rated to be of equal intensity. But important differences, consistent with the theory of ego functioning, appeared in the methods and strategies which the heroes devised to cope with the needs and press.

pDominance. pDominance occurred in 11 of the 20 overachievers' records and in 13 of the 20 underachievers' records. Ten of the 11 overachievers responded adaptively to pDominance, while only 5 of the 13 underachievers responded adaptively. This difference is significant at the .03 level using Fisher's Exact Test.

The subjects did not differ, whether superior achievers or underachievers, in their disposition to pDominance. Generally, the heroes created by these adolescents disliked being dominated. The following story told to Card I, the boy with the violin, by an underachiever reveals both a characteristic difference between the groups, and the theme of indecision leading to inaction, which appears frequently in the protocols of underachievers.

> Card I. "Well, it looks like the, ah, boy's mother decided he wants - she wants him to take violin lessons. So she went up - bought him a violin - got him lessons - After the first lesson she takes him home and - his mother tells him to practice. He doesn't want to, and puts it down on top of the music and a stares at it, and ah - tries to think of ways of getting out of practice on it, puts it down again, does this over and over again, until he learns to play it fairly good."

The hero of the underachiever neither settles down by finishing his practicing, nor gets out of playing the violin. He "learns to play" without actually playing. He is essentially ineffectual; he neither copes with nor removes the press.

Response to Press. By grouping subjects whose heroes responded adaptively or predominantly adaptively to pAggression and pDominance, in contrast with those who did not respond or who responded maladaptively, over- versus underachievement groups are differentiated at the .03 level (see Table 15). The heroes of the overachievers responded more adaptively than those of underachievers in a significant number of instances.

nAchievement. Neither the presence nor absence of nAchievement alone, nor the recognition of a means-end relation between achievement and success by those who told achievement stories differentiated between achievement groups. But as Table 16 indicates, a significant difference does appear when the achievement variable is considered in terms of three alternatives: (1) The hero positively construes a means-end relationship between nAchievement and success; (2) nAchievement is present but there is no recognition of a means-end relationship by the hero; (3) No nAchievement present. The heroes of the overachievers more frequently construed a means-end relationship between nAchievement and success.

TABLE 15

RESPONSE TO PRESS BY OVERACHIEVERS AND UNDERACHIEVERS

	Adaptive	Maladaptive	Totals
Overachiever	16	4	20
Underach.	8	12	20
Totals	24	16	40

$x^2 = 5.10$ (corrected for continuity) $p < .03$.

TABLE 16

nACHIEVEMENT MEANS-END COGNIZANCE OF OVERACHIEVERS AND UNDERACHIEVERS

	Means-ends recog.	No means-ends recog.	nAch. absent	Totals
Overachiever	14	4	2	20
Underach.	7	5	8	20
Totals	21	9	10	40

$x^2 = 6.02$; $p < .05$; df = 2.

nAggression. nAggression appears in the themes of 15 overachievers and 13 underachievers. The heroes of both groups appeared to have similar difficulty controlling their aggressive impulses. Nor were significant differences found among the heroes of the two achievement groups when they were compared in terms of the degree to which they expressed aggression adaptively.

nAutonomy. nAutonomy appears in 18 of the overachiever protocols and in 16 of the underachiever protocols. But the overachievers, as Table 17 indicates, told significantly more stories (at the .02 level) in which the autonomy of adaptively expressed.

TABLE 17

COMPARISON OF OVERACHIEVERS AND UNDERACHIEVERS ON ADAPTIVE AUTONOMY

	Present	Absent	Totals
Overach.	15	3	18
Underach.	7	9	16
Totals	22	12	34

Fisher's exact $p < .02$.

Response to Needs. Upon grouping subjects whose heroes respond adaptively to nAggression, nAutonomy, and nAchievement compared with those who respond maladaptively, the overachievers differ significantly from the underachievers, as Table 18 indicates, at the .05 level.

TABLE 18

ADAPTIVE NEED RESPONSES OF OVERACHIEVERS AND UNDERACHIEVERS

	Present	Absent	Totals
Overach.	15	5	20
Underach.	7	13	20
Totals	22	18	40

$x^2 = 4.95$ (corrected for continuity); $p < .05$.

Acceptance of Responsibility. Three ratings were made on the protocols as a whole. The first rating was for responsibility. The three categories were: Yes--the hero accepted responsibility; No--the hero did not accept responsibility for his actions; Can't rate--sometimes he did, but it was impossible to rate definitely. The responsibility rating, as Table 19 indicates, differentiates between the groups at the .01 level; the heroes in the stories told by overachievers accepted responsibility more frequently for their actions.

TABLE 19

ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY BY
OVERACHIEVERS AND UNDERACHIEVERS

	Yes	Can't Rate	No	Totals
Overach.	11	6	3	20
Underach.	2	8	10	20
Totals	13	14	13	40

$x^2 = 10.25$; $p < .01$; df = 2.

Control of Impulse. The second rating was for control - Did the hero seem to be able to govern his impulses? As Table 20 indicates, the heroes in stories told by the overachievers had significantly better control (at the .05 level) than did the underachievers.

TABLE 20

CONTROL OF IMPULSE BY
OVERACHIEVERS AND UNDERACHIEVERS

	Yes	Can't Rate	No	Totals
Overach.	11	6	3	20
Underach.	3	9	8	20
Totals	14	15	11	40

$x^2 = 7.42$, $p < .05$; df = 2.

Energy Level of Hero. The final rating was for energy level in the stories. The three categories were: High--the hero was highly energetic; Neutral--the hero appeared to have sufficient energy to carry out his desires or actions, but lacked "intensity"; Low--the hero seemed apathetic, sluggish, unable to implement his plans. Although overachievers told more stories in which the heroes had energy sufficient for their pursuits, this difference was not significant.

Relating energy level to control, however, revealed a significant difference between the groups. A person with strong control can successfully accommodate to the strain of operating with a high energy level. It is the person with the high energy and poor controls who is in danger of acting maladaptively. Such, indeed, seems to be the case with our high energy underachievers. Of the six so rated, five had also been rated as lacking both responsibility and control. The opposite was true for the overachievers. Of the ten rated high on energy level, nine were rated high on both responsibility and control. This difference is significant at the .01 level, using Fisher's exact test.

Discussion. The thematic analysis has revealed a number of significant differences between the overachievers and the underachievers. It has revealed at the same time that adolescent conflict remains adolescent conflict regardless of achievement level. The major factor which differentiates the stories of overachievers and underachievers appears in the methods which the heroes used to cope with conflict. The ego functioning of the overachievers seems to be more adaptive. Inferring from the behavior of the heroes they create, the overachievers are better able than the underachievers to distinguish alternatives, and to perceive the subtleties of a situation before acting on their perceptions. They are likely to govern their expression of impulse by

TABLE 21

THREE GROUP DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS: ROOT AND VECTORS $W^{-1}A$

Measure	Scaled Vectors	
	I	II
$\text{Self}_1\text{-Ideal}_1$	-0.69	2.48
$\text{Self}_1\text{-Teacher's Ideal}_1$	3.21	-1.38
$\text{Ideal}_1\text{-Teacher's Ideal}_1$	-2.07	2.52

Latent Roots	Per Cent of Trace
0.1782	95.31
0.0087	4.69

The 2i = .000 where i = 3; trace of W^1A = .1870

The $\Sigma\lambda i$ = .1870, Λ= .841, F (df = 6, 278) = 4.1797, $p < .0005$

reason and by anticipating consequences. They are both more mature and goal-oriented in their response to need and press and they apparently maintain a better structural balance between their control and energy level.

Q-Sort. In the analysis of the Q-Sort data, different comparisons were made using various combinations of seven, five, three, and two achievement groups. The additional groups are listed in footnote 1, Chapter II. In the present report, only certain of the three group and two group analyses will be abstracted; the total workup among all groups can be found in Kehas (1964). It will be recalled that the Q-Sort data are analyzed in two parts: the first part deals with the correlations among the three card sorts; the second part with the weightings given to individual adjectives among the pool of 50 items by members of the various achievement groups.

Part 1. Correlations between Sorts. A single administration of three sorts produced three correlations for each subject. To permit comparisons of means and variances among groups, these correlations were converted to z scores. As a first step, to establish that there were statistically significant differences among the three achievement groups, a multivariate discriminant analysis was conducted. As shown in Table 21, the Lambda for the three groups was .841: this is significant beyond the .005 probability level. The three groups do differ in the way they use adjectives to construe self, ideal self, and teacher's ideal. This finding permits us to consider the hypotheses concerning self-concept and self-in-situation.

The univariate analysis in Table 22 reveals that both self-concept and self-in-situation are significantly different among the achievement groups. The significant differences among the groups on

TABLE 22

THREE GROUP DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS: UNIVARIATE *F* TESTS

Measure	Mean Squares		F Ratio	$p <$
	A	W	(2,141)	
Self$_1$-Ideal$_1$	.490	.129	3.80	.025
Self$_1$-Teacher's Ideal$_1$	.767	.121	6.35	.005
Ideal$_1$-Teacher's Ideal$_1$	.050	.082	0.61	----

TABLE 23

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND CORRESPONDING R'S FOR INDIVIDUAL Q-SORT VARIABLES

Variable	UA			PA			OA		
	Mean z	s.d.	Corr r	Mean z	s.d.	Corr r	Mean z	s.d.	Corr r
Self concept	.711	.332	.611	.817	.300	.679	.919	.477	.726
Self-in-situation	.512	.322	.471	.623	.292	.554	.778	.461	.571
Optimum congruency possible	.906	.238	.719	.953	.232	.741	.864	.443	.698

correlations between self and ideal disconfirms Kehas' hypothesis that a student's self concept is not related to his achievement status; apparently underachievers, par achievers, and overachievers do differ significantly in their use of language to conceptualize their own attributes. But members of the achievement groups differ even more on measures of self-in-situation, on correlations between self and teacher's ideal. The latter variable incorporates information about self-concept and contributes much more to the separation among the achievement groups. In this sense, the hypothesis that unsuccessful underachievers perceive themselves more discrepant from the teacher's ideal than do the successful achievers is confirmed.

On the first discriminant function in Table 21, the correlations between self and teacher's ideal (self-in-situations) clearly contributed most to the group separation. The scaled weight for self-in-situation was +3.21; for self concept -.59. In this as in other analyses, the differences were contributed by the "extreme groups," the underachievers vs. overachievers; the par achieving group did not figure in any of the significant differences. (See tables 24 and 25.) The fact that the differences, in general, were between the extreme groups and that the scores of the PA group were in a middle position, suggests once again that there is a linear relationship between the Q-Sort variables and the rank order of achievement groups. The univariate data also suggest, roughly, that self-in-situation is a more powerful separater of the groups; the differences on the measure of this variable are associated with a probability of less than .001, whereas on self-concept the probabilities are less than .05.

TABLE 24
DUNCAN'S NEW MULTIPLE RANGE TEST APPLIED TO THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MEANS FOR THE VARIABLE SELF-CONCEPT

	Group UAS	 EAC	 OAC	Shortest Significant Ranges at p <				
	Means							
	.717	.817	.919		.05	.01	.005	.001
UAS		.462	1.345	R^2 =	1.0057	1.3296	1.4528	1.7136
EAC			.514	R^2 =	1.0585	1.3857	1.5089	1.7686

Level of Significance of Difference

	UAS	EAC	OAC
UAS		NS	.05
EAC			NS

TABLE 25
DUNCAN'S NEW MULTIPLE RANGE TEST APPLIED TO THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MEANS FOR THE VARIABLE SELF-IN-SITUATION

	Group UA	 PA	 OA	Shortest Significant Ranges at p <				
	Means							
	.512	.623	.778		.05	.01	.005	.001
UA		.484	1.720	R^2 =	.9700	1.2824	1.4012	1.6527
PA			.781	R_3 =	1.0209	1.3364	1.4553	1.7057

Level of Significances of Differences

	UA	PA	OA
UA		NS	.001
PA			NS

Part 2. Analysis of the Rankings of Adjectives by Achievement Group. Here, as in Part 1 of this section, analysis was made of different combinations of the seven achievement groups listed in Footnote 1, Chapter II. A multivariate discriminant analysis of the differences among the five underachieving groups, considered by themselves, revealed no statistically significant differences on either the self, the ideal, or the teacher's ideal sort. In other words, all the students originally classified as underachievers, regardless of later differential grouping, used relatively common patterns of adjectives to characterize self, ideal self, and teacher's ideal.

When the five groups were combined into a single underachievement group, however, and compared with a combined group of par achievers and overachievers, significant differences in adjective rankings appeared. Table 26 summarizes the individual adjectives in the self sort which were ranked in significantly different order by underachievers vs. "achievers." The Lambda for the self sort before counseling was .488, and the F ratio (df=50, 132) was 2.765; the probability level associated with this value is .0005.

Only in the two-group analysis did the differences among the groups on the ideal sort reach statistical significance. Table 27 summarizes the individual adjectives on the ideal sort whose rankings are significant beyond the .05 level. The Lambda for the ideal sort before counseling was .629, the F ratio (df=50, 132) was 1.555; the probability level associated with this value is less than .025.

To interpret these data it is necessary to find a way of thinking and talking about the rankings of adjectives in relation to the achievement groupings. The findings from the two-group analysis are simpler to interpret; moreover, the direction of the differences and the

TABLE 26

SELF SORT BEFORE COUNSELING: LIST OF ADJECTIVES WHICH DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN THE TWO ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS AT $p<.05$

Adjective	Means		Moon Squares		F ratio	p<
	PA-OA	UA	A	W	(1,181)	
studious	6.53	4.64	131.831	2.427	54.32	.0005
scholarly	5.84	4.45	71.708	3.002	23.89	.0005
motivated	5.82	4.99	25.410	1.693	15.01	.0005
sense of humor	6.53	7.36	25.138	1.884	13.34	.0005
hard-working	6.55	5.57	35.391	3.122	11.34	.001
likeable	5.76	6.51	20.301	1.879	10.80	.005
purposeful	6.33	5.67	15.980	1.637	9.76	.005
friendly	6.57	7.26	17.461	2.065	8.46	.005
lazy	3.59	4.52	32.125	3.952	8.13	.005
bright	6.59	5.96	14.421	1.785	8.08	.01
relaxed	5.12	5.92	23.933	3.108	7.70	.01
distractable	4.37	5.05	16.657	2.562	6.50	.025
impressionable	4.84	5.41	11.783	1.827	6.45	.025
intelligent	7.06	6.45	13.433	2.163	6.21	.025
disorganized	3.55	4.13	12.365	2.627	4.71	.05
conscientious	6.20	5.64	11.215	2.444	4.59	.05
sensitive	5.49	4.94	11.160	2.466	4.53	.05
shy	4.57	3.92	15.275	3.413	4.48	.05
suspicious	3.84	4.33	8.840	2.133	4.14	.05
ambitious	6.78	6.24	10.802	2.679	4.03	.05

TABLE 27

IDEAL SORT BEFORE COUNSELING: LIST OF ADJECTIVES WHICH DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS AT $p<.05$

Adjective	Means		Mean Squares		F ratio	p<
	PA-OA	UA	A	W	(1,181)	
motivated	5.94	5.35	12.923	1.264	10.22	.005
rational	5.96	5.19	21.890	2.189	10.00	.005
poised	6.10	5.65	7.335	1.019	7.20	.01
likeable	6.49	7.04	11.035	1.600	6.90	.01
disorganized	2.94	3.28	4.231	0.671	6.31	.025
sense of humor	6.47	6.91	7.074	1.258	5.62	.025
hostile	2.63	3.04	6.197	1.242	4.99	.05
confused	2.78	3.09	3.458	0.738	4.69	.05
purposeful	6.75	6.32	6.705	1.482	4.52	.05
sociable	6.18	6.59	6.319	1.554	4.07	.05
responsible	6.84	6.49	4.525	1.126	4.02	.05

adjectives involved were the same in the seven, three, and two-group analyses. Only the two-group analysis, therefore, will be reported here. The underachieving group in this analysis consists of 129 underachievers drawn from the following groups: underachieving experimental sample (UAES); underachieving control (UAC); underachieving control in transition (UACR); counseling attrition (CA); non-sample refer (NSR). (see footnote 1, Chapter II.) The achieving group here is made up of 51 subjects from the par achiever (PA) and overachiever (OA) control groups combined.

TABLE 28

TWO GROUP ANALYSIS OF SELF SORT: SUMMARY OF THE DIRECTION OF THE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES REVEALED BY THE UNIVARIATE F RATIOS

Achieving (PA-OA)		Underachieving (UA)	
More Like	Less Like	More Like	Less Like
Before Counseling			
studious	lazy	sense of humor	shy
scholarly	disorganized	likable	
motivated	suspicious	friendly	
hard-working		relaxed	
purposeful		distractable	
bright		impressionable	
intelligent			
conscientious			
sensitive			
ambitious			

TABLE 29

TWO GROUP ANALYSIS OF IDEAL SORT BEFORE COUNSELING: SUMMARY OF DIRECTION OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES REVEALED BY UNIVARIATE F RATIOS

Achieving (PA-OA)		Underachieving (UA)	
More Like	Less Like	More Like	Less Like
motivated	disorganized	likable	
rational	hostile	sense of humor	
poised	confused	sociable	
purposeful			
responsible			

Self-Sort. Table 28 summarizes the direction of the differences between the achieving and underachieving groups as revealed in the univariate F ratios. The achieving group, to a statistically significant degree, ranked themselves: studious, scholarly, motivated, hard-working, purposeful, bright, intelligent, conscientious and ambitious; they sorted as "less like" themselves the following: lazy, disorganized, and suspicious. The underachieving group, to a statistically significant degree, selected the following as being "more like" themselves: sense of humor, likeable, friendly, relaxed, distractable, and impressionable; they rejected the one adjective, shy.

Ideal Sort. The hypothesis that the achievement groups would differ in the adjectives they select to define their personal ideals was confirmed only in the two group analysis. Table 29 summarizes the direction of the differences as revealed in the univariate F ratios. The Achieving group, to a statistically significant degree, ranked the following adjectives as being "more like" the kind of person they would want to be: motivated, rational, poised, purposeful, and responsible; they rejected as "less like" their ideal: disorganized, hostile, and confused. The Underachieving group, to a statistically significant degree, ranked the following as being "more like" their ideal: likeable, sense of humor, and sociable. These patterns are fairly similar to the Self Sort selections, although the differences between the achieving and underachieving groups are fewer. Twenty adjectives separate the two groups on the self sort compared with eleven on the ideal.

Teacher's Ideal Student. Again only the two group analysis revealed significant differences on the adjective sort in which each subject described Teacher's Ideal Student; these differences, moreover, were limited. The achievers see the teacher as wanting a student who is more rational, purposeful, and conscientious, and rejecting the student who is confused and insecure. The underachievers see the teacher preferring the student who is likeable and aggressive and as rejecting the student who is disturbed, unrealiable, or sensitive.

Discussion. In his dissertation, Kehas chose to interpret the differences in Tables 28 and 29 in terms of what he called "experiencing style." He concluded that the "intellectual, task oriented" style of the overachiever meets certain school requirements better than the "personal-social" orientations of the students who are classified here as underachievers. He suggested that the different experiencing styles may reflect preference for different kinds of learning. The academic curriculum in high schools may overemphasize intellectual assimilation of abstract knowledge and not provide sufficiently for humanist, personal learning, that is, for "people-involved knowledge." He argues that overachievers are more responsive to this kind of situation, whereas students who underachieve may bring more of self into the academic setting: consequently they do not perform as well in school.

An alternate interpretation of "style" may be drawn from Klein's (1958) work on cognitive attitudes and styles. A cognitive attitude describes a way of organizing--through perception, memory, and thinking--a transmitted array of information. Cognitive style implies that these cognitive attitudes are arranged in structures and that the structures are of another order; they are, in a Gestalt sense, more than the mere sum of the individual cognitive attitudes. In part, through these cognitive structures ego regulates drives and the individual's transactions with reality. Klein has identified some of the dimensions of cognitive attitudes and style; he evidences that individuals differ in their manifestations of one style or other. The differences between achievers and underachievers on the Q-sort data lend themselves to interpretation in terms of cognitive style, but this is for another report.

Kehas construes the Q-sort differences between achievers and underachievers in terms of differences in value orientations. His construction seems valid but, from the viewpoint of this report, not sufficient. The evidence in the other measures of ego characteristics suggest: (1) that value orientations can be subsumed under ego-concepts; and (2) that these differences are related to cognitive "capacity" as well. Moreover, these differences do not affect adaptation only to school. The fact that the variable self-in-situation is the main differentiator does not prove that the differences in adaptive capacity are specific only to the school situation; the achievers are likely perhaps to be more adaptive than the underachievers in any situation requiring sustained attention, behavior control, and analytic reasoning to work through a problem.

Another perspective for interpreting the Q-sort data on achievers versus underachievers is in the psychoanalytic distinction between primary and secondary process. (Kehas considers but rejects the relevance of this concept to the Q-sort data.) Primary process thinking tends to

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[8] In her doctoral dissertation, nearing completion in the Learning Research and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh, Rosalie Cohen has found some evocative relationships between "social-conceptual styles and orientation to school requirements." Using various measures of cognitive performance, Mrs. Cohen has distinguished an "analytic" from a "relational" conceptual style; she has identified origins of the differences in conceptual style in the way essential social and economic functions are allocated within family groups; she has preliminary evidence that students who are primarily "analytic" have considerable advantages in meeting school requirements over the students who are primarily "relational."

be alogical, lacking in negatives, conditionals or orientation to time; it is a vehicle for discharging cathectic energy. Secondary process thinking, characteristic of the more mature ego, is logical, objective, more liable to delay acting and to consider consequences of actions; it is more independent of the need to discharge drive energies. In a small exploratory study, Schwitzgebel (1960) found underachievers made a significantly higher ratio of primary process to secondary process responses on a word association test. A (somewhat forced) analogy can be made between a word association test and the Q-sort; the differences between the preferred adjective responses of the achievers (studious, scholarly, motivated, etc.) and those of the underachievers (sense of humor, likable, friendly, etc.) are suggestive of differences between secondary process and primary process.

Kehas would conclude that the nature of the school reality to which students must adapt--one which requires and rewards mainly intellectual values and achievements--needs to be reformed and expanded. One can agree with the need for school reform; but the problem is more complex. It is not known whether certain kinds of learning which may be necessary to survival, or at least to attain some minimal degree of knowledge and autonomy in our present social order, can be accomplished without systematic abstraction and analytic reasoning. It also has not been established that the two "experiencing" or cognitive styles are exclusive (Klein construes cognitive attitudes to be linear not categorical); being "intellectual, task-oriented, purposive..." does not preclude being "personal-social" oriented and having a sense of humor. Assuming that the differences found between the achieving and underachieving students both in concepts of self and in their styles of conceptualizing, are valid, we still do not know whether these differences must or ought to exist. Perhaps the school could provide for students to attain both styles; students might learn to experience more varied meanings about themselves and to adapt more resourcefully and autonomously to school and other situations.

In brief, the Q-sort findings can be interpreted not only in terms of self theory, but with at least equal relevance in terms of a theory of adaptive ego functioning.

Assessment Interview. The scheme developed to analyze the assessment interview data was introduced in Chapter II; the relevant forms and manuals appear in Appendixes D, E, and F. Because of problems in the administration of the Project, a sufficient test was not made of the reliability of all the measures derived from the assessment interview.[9] The findings are presented, nevertheless, because they have been produced by an otherwise carefully developed and systematic procedure and because they complement in an interesting and useful way, the findings from the other instruments. The lack of systematic evidence that the coding procedure has been carried out reliably, however, conditions the interpretation of these data.

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[9] Most of the scoring was accomplished by Miss Hilda Bernstein, then a doctoral candidate in the Harvard School of Graduate Education. Miss Bernstein played a relatively independent role in the work of the Project; she had not been part of the original staff and she maintained a scholar's detached and critical attitude toward its theories and procedures. She had not identified herself in advance with ego theory, with the "success of ego counseling" or with any special viewpoint concerning underachievement. In these regards, at least, there was likely to be minimum bias in her scoring. A check of her scores with those of Mrs. Virginia Shively, the other rater, showed sufficient agreement to encourage completion of the scoring. Miss Bernstein coded 63 cases alone; Mrs. Shively 26; both together coded 24 cases. The work-up of these data, including the preliminary estimate of reliability, was accomplished by Mr. Gerald Solomon, then a Harvard student and Project assistant.

The coding manual for the assessment interviews is in two parts: in the first part are coded mainly the student's perceptions of various conditions; the scores in the second part reflect mainly the coder's direct judgments of the student's thinking and behavior with relation to certain conditions. The students in the three achievement groups differed mainly on the following variables:

1. Their perceptions of relations with parents.
2. Their perceptions of parental influence and school, including teachers and homework.
3. The degree of personal responsibility and control they reflected in their decisions.
4. The influence of parents on their decision making.
5. The specificity of their educational and vocational goals and their awareness of relevant supports and obstacles.
6. Whether their values toward education and work are primarily intrinsic or extrinsic.
7. Their capacity to conceptualize themselves and the people around them.

Significant differences among the achievement groups were found on 52 out of 85 assessment interview scales. The comprehensive interview schedule and the verbatim transcriptions provided scorable data for almost every case and every variable. The findings from the assessment interview are presented in Tables 30 through 39. In these tables, the same basic UA group, minus a few cases lacking adequate assessment interview protocols, was used as in the previous analyses. To check on the adequacy of the assignment to counseling, a comparison was made of the UAES and the UAC subjects within the UA group; there were no systematic differences and thus no evidence from the interview data of bias in assigning underachievers either to counseling (UAES) or control (UAC) status. These findings are markedly consistent with those from the other instruments. Especially noteworthy is the replication in these coded interview data of the rank order, UA-PA-OA, which appears so consistently in the scales on the other instruments. This rank order appeared on 42 out of the

TABLE 30
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF RELATIONS WITH PARENTS

Scale		UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24	F Ratio
Perceived Relationship with Father					
Activity: involvement-detachment[a]	$\overline{X}$	2.30	2.33	2.00	.97
	σ	0.96	0.99	0.52	
Potency: strong influence-weak influence	$\overline{X}$	2.59	2.29	2.05	3.24*
	σ	0.94	0.98	0.71	
Evaluation: good influence-bad influence	$\overline{X}$	2.84	2.40	1.95	9.17***
	σ	0.97	0.86	0.56	
Perceived Relationship with Mother					
Activity: involvement-detachment	$\overline{X}$	2.49	2.55	2.14	1.88
	σ	0.81	0.86	0.55	
Potency: strong influence-weak influence	$\overline{X}$	2.60	2.45	2.23	1.61
	σ	0.91	0.74	0.80	
Evaluation: good influence-bad influence	$\overline{X}$	2.99	2.35	2.64	3.12*
	σ	0.71	0.73	0.71	
Perceptions of Parental Discipline Regarding School					
Activity: severe-lax	$\overline{X}$	2.56	2.90	3.00	2.17
	σ	1.07	0.81	0.95	
Potency: effective-ineffective	$\overline{X}$	3.34	2.86	2.50	7.63***
	σ	1.05	0.71	0.66	
Evaluation: fair-unfair	$\overline{X}$	3.27	2.57	2.55	9.52***
	σ	0.93	0.73	0.66	

[a] Note: Each scale runs from 1-5 in the direction suggested by the headings.

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

52 assessment interview scales on which the achievement groups differed significantly in the expected direction. This finding adds to one's confidence in the scoring procedure. Although the interview conversation generally revealed whether the interviewee was an underachiever, the coder could not readily distinguish par achievers from overachievers. The consistent rank order with achievement status, therefore, enhances the probability that these interview-derived measures are valid.

As indicated in Table 30, there are no apparent differences in the degree with which underachievers and overachievers are involved with their fathers; overachievers, however, feel that their fathers make stronger demands on them. This does not have adverse effects; on the contrary, they evaluate the influence of their fathers much more favorably than do the underachievers. The relationship of all the boys to their mothers in these data is ambiguous. There are no differences in involvement or in perception of influence; underachievers, however, evaluate their relationship with their mothers less favorably than do the boys in the other groups. A puzzling aspect of this scale is the fact that the par achievers display the most favorable evaluations.

There is no significant difference in the degree of severity or laxity of parental discipline experienced by these students, although the underachievers tend to perceive their parents to be more severe. The achievers, however, perceive their parents' discipline concerning school to be fairer and more effective. The distinctions are similar concerning parental discipline in relation to personal behavior, but they are statistically significant only on the potency scale. There are no significant differences among the groups regarding mobility, the granting of privileges, and sources of money. More underachievers than achievers, however, own cars and hold part-time jobs.

TABLE 31
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE SCHOOL

Scale		UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24	F Ratio
Perceptions of School in General					
Activity: involvement-detachment (1-5)	$\overline{X}$	3.21	2.92	2.04	15.48***
	σ	1.01	0.76	0.53	
Potency: demanding-easy (1-5)	$\overline{X}$	2.61	2.33	1.83	10.26***
	σ	0.82	0.62	0.47	
Evaluation: interesting-dull	$\overline{X}$	3.23	2.88	2.21	11.80***
	σ	0.98	0.78	0.76	
Perceptions of Teachers					
Activity: involvement-detachment	$\overline{X}$	3.17	2.87	2.48	6.48***
	σ	0.88	0.68	0.59	
Potency: demanding-easy	$\overline{X}$	2.77	2.57	2.14	6.42***
	σ	0.77	0.65	0.56	
Evaluation: fair-unfair	$\overline{X}$	3.13	2.83	2.43	6.62***
	σ	0.85	0.76	0.58	
Perceptions of Course Work					
Activity: involvement-detachment	$\overline{X}$	3.15	3.00	2.04	20.38***
	σ	0.83	0.58	0.54	
Potency: demanding-easy	$\overline{X}$	2.58	2.54	1.96	7.44***
	σ	0.76	0.64	0.54	
Evaluation: interesting-dull	$\overline{X}$	3.21	2.92	2.33	16.71***
	σ	0.70	0.64	0.47	

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

TABLE 32

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF ACTIVITIES IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL

Scale	Group Means[a]			
	UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24	F Ratio
School Activities				
Activity: involvement-detachment	3.94	4.10	3.04	*
Potency: demanding-easy	3.20	3.35	2.17	*
Evaluation: interesting-dull	2.22	2.38	1.82	
Part-Time Jobs				
Activity: involvement-detachment	3.39	4.05	4.48	**
Potency: demanding-easy	3.38	3.84	4.43	*
Evaluation: interesting-dull	2.41	2.27	2.50	
Recreational Activities Outside School				
Activity: involvement-detachment	2.59	2.83	3.29	**
Potency: demanding-easy	2.40	2.63	3.04	*
Evaluation: interesting-dull	2.24	2.33	2.56	

[a] The records of the standard deviations currently are not available.

The differences among the students and in their perceptions of school are listed in Table 31. It is evident that the overachievers are more actively involved with school, their teachers, and their course work. They perceive school and the teachers to be more demanding than do the underachievers; not unexpectedly, they also evaluate school, teachers, and course work more favorably than the other groups. Table 32 evidences that they are also more involved and find more challenge in extra-curricular activities. Underachievers are more involved and find greater challenge in part-time jobs and in recreational activities outside school.

The second part of the analysis requires that the scorer make more direct judgments of the student's thinking and behavior. Table 33 evidences that the place of responsibility and control in the student's decision-making is strongly associated with his level of academic achievement. Seventy-five percent of the overachievers and only 28% of the underachievers were judged to place the locus of control and responsibility exclusively in themselves. Somewhat more underachievers place it in their parents. No locus of responsibility and control was assigned to a high percent of underachievers and par achievers. The manual requires that this category be assigned to students to whom things "just seem to happen," where the interviewee appears to be doing little forethought or planning.

Tables 34 and 35 report the differences in student's perceptions of parental influence on their overall behavior and on their school behavior. The chi square of 10.48 indicates that the percentages in these cells are significantly different overall. Overachievers and par achievers mention greater adherence to the wishes of their parents; underachievers show considerably greater opposition or ambivalence to the wishes of their parents.

TABLE 33
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF LOCUS OF RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL FOR HIS DECISIONS

	UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24
Locus in Self	28[a]	46	75
Locus in Parents	19	12	13
No Locus or Variable Locus	53	42	12
Total	100	100	100

[a] In Percentages

$x^2=18.58$
$p<.001$

TABLE 34
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON OVERALL BEHAVIOR

	UA		PA		OA	
Marked influence:	83[a]		87		96	
Adherence to parents' wishes		44		70		74
Opposition or ambivalence to parents' wishes		39		17		22
Negligible influence	17		13		40	

[a] In Percentages

$x^2=10.48$
$p<.05$

TABLE 35
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON SCHOOL BEHAVIOR

	UA		PA		OA	
Marked influence:	81[a]		91		96	
Adherence to parents' wishes		14		61		92
Opposition to parents' wishes		20		9		6
Ambivalence to parents' wishes		47		21		4
Negligible influence						

[a] In Percentages

$x^2=57.65$
$P<.001$

Tables 36 and 37 evidence a similar trend with reference to parental influence on educational and vocational goals of these students; the chi square is significant for educational goals, however, only at the .10 level. The underachievers are less oppositional to their parents with regard to educational and vocational goals than they are to other issues of immediate behavior. Table 36 evidences that parents have less influence on choice of vocation than they do on other kinds of behavior; there is concomitantly less opposition from the boys. Perhaps this is because parents who will even adamantly prescribe college education feel less competent to give vocational advice. Overall, regardless of their high school achievement status, these adolescent sons still perceive their middle-class parents to have a marked influence on their decision making.

The variable of differentiation and specificity of life goals has been suggested in part by Super's work on vocational maturity. The dimension of awareness is also one of his indices of vocational maturity. In this coding scheme, differentiation and awareness were scored separately for educational goals and for vocational goals. Table 38 evidences that overachievers discuss their goals in more differentiated and specific ways and are more aware of supports and obstacles to attainment of their goals than are underachievers; typically, the par achievers rank in between both groups.

The size of the differences among the groups is also noteworthy; there seems to be much greater separation with relation to educational goals than to vocational goals. This would be expected in a sample of bright, middle-class high school students, almost all of whom, regardless of achievement status, are contemplating some kind of post high school education. It would be expected that in discussing educational goals whose attainment will depend upon current achievement status, underachievers

TABLE 36
PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL GOALS

	UA	PA	OA
Marked Influence:	83[a]	91	95
Adherence to parents' wishes	63	78	91
Opposition and ambivalence toward parental wishes	20	13	4
Negligible Influence:	17	9	5

[a] In percentages

$x^2=7,56$
$p<.10$

TABLE 37
PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON CHOICE OF VOCATION

	UA	PA	OA
Marked Influence:	51[a]	78	78
Adherence to parents' wishes	36	65	56
Opposition or ambivalence toward parents' wishes	15	13	22
Negligible Influence	49	22	22

[a] In percentages

$x^2=10.80$
$p<,05$

TABLE 38
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF LIFE GOALS

Scale: 1 (Differentiated) 5 (General)		UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24	F Ratio
Differentiation and Specificity of Life Goals					
Educational Goals	$\bar{X}$	3.42	2.50	2.09	26.53***
	σ	0.88	0.91	0.78	
Vocational Goals	$\bar{X}$	3.33	2.75	2.43	5.52***
	σ	1.24	1.42	1.14	
Awareness of Supports and Obstacles to Life Goals 1 (Highly Aware) 5 (Minimally Aware)					
Educational Goals	$\bar{X}$	3.27	2.50	1.87	18.88***
	σ	1.12	0.91	0.74	
Vocational Goals	$\bar{X}$	3.52	3.00	2.39	7.32***
	σ	1.27	1.50	1.17	

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

TABLE 39
STUDENTS' INTRINSIC VS. EXTRINSIC VALUATION OF EDUCATION AND WORK

Scale: 1 (Intrinsic) 5(Extrinsic)		UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24	F Ratio
School	$\bar{X}$	4.47	4.13	3.08	16,92***
	σ	1.08	0.93	0.36	
College	$\bar{X}$	4.38	4.09	3.09	14.70***
	σ	1.02	0.93	1.02	
Work Experience to Date	$\bar{X}$	3.94	4.31	4.50	
	σ	1.35	1.57	1.04	
Vocational Goals	$\bar{X}$	3.52	3.38	2.43	5.74**
	σ	1.44	1.47	0.71	

* $p <.05$
** $p <.01$
*** $p <.001$

will be handicapped in taking and discussing specific objectives. If their other vocational maturity attributes were equal, they ought to be as aware as members of the other achievement groups, of the supports and obstacles specific to their situation. The evidence, however, is that on these other attributes of maturity, they are not equal.

The dimensions of intrinsic versus extrinsic or instrumental evaluation of education and work are relevant to a typology suggested by Ginzberg (1951). With relation to school, college, and vocational goals, overachievers on Table 39 are likely to place more value on knowledge for its own sake; par achievers and underachievers are likely to place more value on education as an instrument to obtain better jobs and more money. It can be noted that on many of the other scales, even though they fall mostly in the middle rank, the par achievers tend to be closer to the overachievers than to the underachievers. On the intrinsic-extrinsic scale of values, however, the par achievers resemble the underachievers more than the overachievers.

The final variable measured in the assessment interviews was that of capacity to conceptualize one's self and certain people and institutions to which one is related. This required highly inferential judgments from the coders; the interview schedule, however, had been designed to elicit such conceptualizations from these boys. Table 40 evidences that overachievers in their interview discussion, conceptualize themselves and their surroundings in more differentiated ways than do the underachievers; the par achievers, as on the other scales, tend to rank in between.

TABLE 40

CAPACITY TO CONCEPTUALIZE SELF AND OTHER PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

Scale: 1(Differentiated) to 5 (Minimal)	UA N=91	PA N=24	OA N=24	Sign Level
Self	2.18	1.88	1.48	***
Father	2.29	2.27	1.73	***
Mother	2.32	2.48	1.87	***
Surrogate	2.38	2.00	2.00	
Siblings	2.33	2.35	2.05	
School	2.48	1.96	1.50	***
Teachers	2.32	1.83	1.70	***
Courses	2.23	1.88	1.61	**
Peers	2.34	2.17	2.00	*

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

Supplementary Study of the Assessment Interview Data. During analysis of the assessment interviews, certain phenomena were observed for which there was no category in the formal coding procedures but which seemed of sufficient import to study further.[10] These phenomena concerned some sociological variables and certain qualitative differences in the interests and activities of the boys. The sample studied consisted of the 24 overachievers in the regular control group and 24 randomly selected underachievers, 12 from the UAES and 12 from the UAC group. Data were obtained from the subjects' school folders, from their counselors, and from supplementary notes made by the coders on the interview sheet. The shortcomings in processing these data are obvious: first, the relevant information had to be discussed in the assessment interview; it had to be adequately recorded or typed; it had to be salient enough for the rater to make a special note of it; it had to be transformed from a rough note into an orderly scheme. The findings from this study are thus necessarily provisional, but their implications are sufficiently intriguing to report them here.

Variations of Family Conditions Within Socioeconomic Status. It was noted in Chapter II that no differences were found among the achievement groups in socioeconomic status of the boys' families. In the method developed by Hamburger (1957), socioeconomic status is determined mainly by the father's occupational level. Yet, in comparing these 24 overachievers and 24 underachievers, important differences appeared between the occupational attainments of the fathers, even within the same occupational level. This analysis will concentrate specifically on the fathers' professional positions. Among the 24 underachievers, only three had fathers in what would be considered top-level professional positions: one held a

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[10] This special study was conducted by Miss Hilda Bernstein.

Ph.D and was department chairman at a medium-sized university; one was a professor of languages, and one was a director of a university research center. (It is interesting that all these fathers were connected with the field of education.) Among the fathers of the 24 overachievers, however, ten were currently engaged in high-level professional careers. Two of these held the Ph.D and taught at the college level; a third had a Ph.D in the philosophy of religion and was a Protestant chaplain at a university; one was a psychiatrist, one an internist; one was an electronic engineer, another a naval architect and marine engineer; three were lawyers. One of the lawyers was also trained as a social worker and another was vice-president of a large realty company; the electronics engineer had trained previously to be a doctor. Besides these ten fathers, two more had been trained as lawyers but during the depression of the 1930's had entered family businesses to earn an income and had not returned to law. Half the fathers of the 24 overachievers in this sample, therefore, were trained in the professions, whereas only one-eighth of the fathers of underachievers appear to have been so trained. Yet these qualitative differences were not accounted for in the general ratings of occupational level.

One finds similar differences among the mothers, although the information is more vague. Only three mothers of the underachievers were noted as having gone to "name" colleges; a few more had outstanding high school records and/or post-high school training. Of those whose careers were mentioned, two mothers were teachers and the rest had been secretaries. The educational and vocational histories of the mothers of overachievers were both extensive and more varied. Although only a small number was listed as having gone to "name" colleges, several others finished four years of college, went on to graduate work in such fields as nursing, education, and social work, and worked in these fields. Some were currently taking adult education courses or had developed sufficient interest in such fields as art, for their sons to mention it. The mothers of overachievers were generally more active, more likely to be decision-makers and disciplinaries in the home. (One might speculate on the academic motivation of daughters whose mothers were active and dominant decision-makers.)

Religion. Of the 24 overachievers, ten were Christian, ten Jewish, and four listed as "don't know"; of the underachievers thirteen were Christian, seven Jewish, and four listed as "don't know." Eight of the 24 overachievers mentioned their families having moved to the Oxford school district in recent years; twelve of the 24 underachievers mentioned such moves. In some instances, underachievement is probably at least partially a function of having to re-adjust to a more difficult school system; such problems were explicitly noted in some of the interviews. Five of the underachieving boys who were Jewish had moved from another less favored Jewish residential section of the city; they seemed to be members of upwardly mobile Jewish families, perhaps subjected to special pressure to succeed without having had the cultural supports provided by the more established families.

Other Variables. Several of the variables did not differentiate between the groups. Both groups included an equal number of students reporting death of parents or divorce in the immediate family. Roughly the same number of students expressed special interests in mathematical or scientific fields as opposed to humanities, social sciences, or having no explicit preferences. In like fashion, participation in outside activities such as dramatics, weather observing, electronics, and even sports did not seem different between the achievement groups. The quality of the interest in such activities, however, appeared to be different. For example, although about ten of the members in each group expressed a special interest in athletics, the competitive aspect of athletics was noted chiefly among the overachievers. Challenge and competition keynote the interests and activities of these boys. One overachiever expressed the wish to be a "master builder"--in the very sense in which Ibsen used the term; one mentioned "testing his abilities" in gymnastics; one "tries for mental and physical fitness"; and one likes the "challenge" inherent in math and science; one is a proud Eagle Scout, one an avid chess player; and the list goes on.

Social Relations. About six of the overachievers commented on their social relations: two pointed out--one with satirical self-description--their own lack of popularity, the others emphasized the importance of working with people, socializing, developing one's personality, and the like. The underachievers pictured themselves more as having large groups of friends and doing things with "the gang"; they engaged in somewhat less reasoning than the overachievers about these relationships. The strong influence of "peers" on the underachievers was indicated in the coded interview analysis; it is possible that "having friends" means somewhat different things to overachievers and underachievers. The boys in both groups wish to prove their worth to their friends, but they may use different means. Many of the underachievers, for example, spend a great deal of time and money working on cars, and are particularly proud of their accomplishments in this work. A much higher percentage of underachievers also earn their own money. This may be partly due to financial necessity but probably also reflects a greater effort to be independent of parental influence. Tentatively, it might be speculated that the two groups differ in the manner in which they handle their competitive and aggressive impulses; the underachievers show more blatant anti-family, anti-school, anti-organization tendencies; the overachievers are better able to depersonalize their aggression, to "attack" work, sport, making friends, etc., more effectively. This speculation possibly has been encouraged by similar findings in the TAT data.

Familial Differences. These interview data indicate that both under- and overachievers have siblings who are either high or low achievers, some of whom are younger, some older than our subjects. It is tempting to speak of and try to identify "underachievogenic families"; it would seem more useful, however, to look at family variables and intrapersonal variables together. If the family variables alone were sufficient, then all children in a given family should be either under- or par or overachievers; such is obviously far from the case.

SUMMARY

In this long and complex chapter, evidence has been marshalled to test the general hypothesis that students classified either as underachievers, par achievers, or overachievers differ significantly from each other in certain ego characteristics associated with adaptive functioning. The findings, despite the varied instruments used and the independent processing of data, seem to be markedly consistent.

The data evidence that the (prototypical) overachiever, in comparison with the par achiever and with the underachiever, is more mature, thoughtful, and planful in his orientation to tasks and problem-solving, and more willing to postpone immediate gratifications to achieve distant goals. His interests resemble more closely those of older men. He is positively oriented to master his circumstances--he disavows more strongly than the underachiever the role of fate as a determinant in his life. The overachievers do not appear to be any less well adjusted in their private lives or less able to relate to other persons. The general image of the overachiever in these data is that he is an independent, purposive, and efficiently organized individual who is likely to deal with academic tasks, whether interesting or dull, as a necessary condition for getting on with his life. There is no evidence to support the stereotype of the overachiever as a harried, neurotic conformer.

The underachiever, obversely, is less planful and thoughtful in his orientation to life; he is inclined to be fatalistic in his expectations concerning the outcomes of personal effort. He is likely to put a premium on the immediate and practical effects to be gained from (academic) work, He is less likely to relate his conduct to long-range consequences.

Such qualities as self-control, personal responsibility, and a thoughtful, planful orientation to the tasks of living are among those commonly ascribed to a mature ego. It is on such variables that the superior academic achievers in this sample differ most strikingly from the underachievers. The findings are thus consistent with the postulate that academic performance is a kind of problem-solving behavior whose level of efficiency is, in each individual, a function of his ego strength.

CHAPTER IV

EGO-COUNSELING [1]

The effort to employ ego concepts in counseling is neither novel nor lonely. It has been anticipated in part by Bordin (1955), who suggests that the primary aim of the counselor is to foster growth and integration as against his secondary efforts to resolve immediate situations. An analogy suggests itself between the idea of ego and that of an internal guidance system. Guidance starts not with the counselor, but with the individual's efforts through his ego to guide himself. The ego-counselor joins the individual as his collaborator in these efforts. He is not concerned with the interests, the values and the capacities *per se* of the counselee. It is with the efficacy of the ego as a guidance system--with ego strength--with the maturing capacity of the individual to perceive reality in more accurate terms, to differentiate and impose more complex meanings on reality and on his own fantasy (and to comprehend the difference)--yet to control impulse in the light of anticipated consequences, to mediate conflicting dispositions, to employ rational considerations in solving problems, to pursue more remote goals in a dependable way, to achieve a dynamic balance among psychic dispositions--it is to foster qualitative aspects of ego organization such as these that the ego-counselor participates in the life of the counselee.

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[1] An expanded version of this chapter may be found in: Mosher, R., Carle, R. and Kehas, C. (Eds.). Guidance: An Examination. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965.

Ego-Counseling as Method

The term "method" is to be construed loosely here. It implies, not a set of prescriptions and techniques, but a complex of preferred counselor attitudes and strategies to be implemented flexibly and with respect for the counselee's ultimate freedom--and responsibility--to be himself. A counselee's experience of coercion would result from the counselor's error, not his intention.

Two special conditions applied to the conduct of ego-counseling during this research: First, the counseling was conducted in a short series of interviews; five were considered modal, staged once weekly, beginning about the middle of the academic year. The decision to limit the number of contacts was made as a deliberate condition. It was felt that if ego-counseling is to be useful in educational institutions, it ought to be effective within the limits of educational practice. One can only agree with Bordin (1955) that educational institutions are unlikely ever to support even five counseling sessions for more than a small percent of the case load. Apart from economic grounds, it seems foreign to the concept of a counseling process intended to further normal (ego) development to commit this process to extensive efforts at personality reorganization.

The second condition is concerned with limits in a different way. Here the limits concern the scope of the topics which are to be considered. The notion of sector coined by Felix Deutsch (1949) is relevant. Deutsch used the term to refer to a strategy with patients in brief psychoanalytic psychotherapy; to define a sector, Deutch would focus on the underlying meaning of a psychosomatic symptom for a patient and on the particular meaning of words used by a patient to describe his symptoms. In ego-counseling usage, the term is modified. It means that the counselor influences the counseling deliberations as early as his assessment of a counselee warrants so that a gradual focus is made on a particular encounter the counselee experiences in relation to some (significant) role or situation in reality. The likely sector is initially determined by the setting (here the secondary school guidance program), by situational problems such as the reason for referral, e.g., vocational concerns (here underachievement), and increasingly as the counseling progresses, by idiosyncratic features of the counselee's life situation. The gradual centering on a sector is fostered by an often implicit transaction in which the counselor reflects, questions, and interprets in such a way that examination by the counselee of the meaning of certain events and the consequences of certain decisions seems to him to be natural course of action.

Hopefully, the definition of a sector, the examination of alternative modes of thought and action, and the making of choices, will lead to mastery by the counselee of particular roles or situations. The sector may be defined broadly, e.g., the purposes and values of the counselee to be served by attending college; or it may be particular, e.g., his inability to do work for a certain teacher; it may center on a concrete incident, e.g., the commitment by a shy boy to appear in a school play; or it may be relatively abstract, e.g., whether one can trust the future--and adult values--enough to justify hard work on school subjects which seem to have no utility. As isolated instances, these examples may sound pedestrian; yet any one could be of transcendent importance to a particular counselee.

The Case of DO

Interview transcripts are a reminder--especially to the interviewer--of how imperfectly theory may be represented by practice. These brief interview excerpts from the case of DO may illustrate, however, some of the ego-counseling concepts and some related elements of counseling technique. DO was seen in a pilot study which was prelude to this research. The counseling interviews were conducted during the last two months of the academic year. Relevant excerpts from the entire counseling series are found in Appendix H.

In the pilot study, the subjects were not, as in the regular research project, formally assessed. The counselor intended in the first interview, therefore, to assess major problem sectors and DO's "readiness" to engage in counseling. He began the interview by asking DO some general questions about his life in and out of school. At C33, he asked: "And while you're at all this activity, where does school work fit in?". At S34, the counselee, referring to home work, said: "Well, I'll be honest with you; I don't do it. I have spurts; I do it one night and then skip two or something like that". At S36: "I don't know, I get lazy or something--I have the best of intentions when I leave school or the night before, that tomorrow I will practice (saxophone) awhile and then do all my homework--but, I don't know, I'll end up down at the bowling alley or watching television or something". He continued in this vein until S43. (See typescript.)

Excerpts A, B, and C of the first interview have been included because they convey directly the discrepancy experienced by the counselee between his intentions and his actions. In S90, he sets forth with discernment (he had had no previous treatment or acquaintance with psychology) an intimation of ego-process: "...Maybe it you could split my mind down the middle, half wants to go to college and do the work and the--then--you have the other half fighting it (laughs drily), do what you want to do, be lazy or something...".

The counselor began the second interview with: "Well, you've had a week to think about things; what's new?" DO mentioned his attempt to find a summer job, then added that, scholastically, not much had happened. Following his mention of his work in Geometry and English, there was a 16 second pause. The counselor then said: "By the way, this is your time, too, to bring up the things that you might find important to discuss or that might concern you". DO replied that he couldn't think of anything else to talk about. The counselor repeated: "Any other things that came up last week?" DO replied: "No, it's about the same as every other week." After a 23 second pause he then said: "I was sort of curious, though, as to what your research was, what you were trying to accomplish, just kind of what you were trying to do." The counselor laconically described the research. Then at S8 (see typescript) DO put the question back to the counselor.

In retrospect, the counselor might have been less challenging and he might have differentiated more explicitly between his research interest and the possible interest of DO to use the counseling to do some investigation of his own. The need to help the counselee to understand the counseling setting arises either implicitly or explicitly in the initial phase, at least, in all counseling. It was heightened by the fact that the counselee knew of the research interests of the counselor. In this instance, the counselor attempted: (1) To satisfy the natural curiosity of the counselee, who had a perfect right to clarify his understanding of a situation in which he was being invited to place his trust; (2) To help both of them to avoid distraction from the main purpose--self-examination by the counselee. At S15, the counselee then returned to the question of the previous week. The counselor then encouraged DO to expand his description of what seems to happen, and to begin to analyze what it may mean.

It may be profitable to call attention to some elements of counselor technique which, while not original, may be found more typically in ego-counseling. In C13 and C14, the counselor as a well-intentioned collaborator, confronts and disbelieves DO's contention that there is no more to talk about. In C17, the counselor raises a purposefully naive open-ended question. In ordinary conversation, DO's listener would probably feel and indicate that he understood what DO was saying in S16. In C17, however, the counselor attempts to convey that he is concerned *really* to understand the background and implications of what DO is saying. These things are *important*; the counselor *knows* how complicated and perplexing are the ideas which DO is trying to express.

Lost in this typescript is the fumbling hesitation, the stumbling pace of the counselor's speech. On the tape, C17 sounds this way: "What--wh--What's gone again?" Similarly, C16 is: "This...this changeability"? In matters of speech style, of course, much is idiocyncratic with each counselor. Mannered sincerity or naivete is likely to lose the counselee's trust. But the ability to project feeling and to change expression spontaneously is sufficiently valuable to justify some dramatic training--Moreno's psychodrama would be relevant--for counselors. When interviewing adolescent boys, we have found our own speech often to modulate with the tone, the rate, the imprecision and fumbling of their speech. More particularly, as deliberate technique, we have used the "fractured sentence": One struggles to express a hunch, fumble along with it for part of a sentence and, as it gets seemingly too involved or irrelevant--lets his voice fade away and the idea remains suspended and unfinished. In part, this element of style derives from a natural fault in our own speech; it is not merely an artifact. It is often gratifying, however, to observe the counselee break the tension, pick up where the sentence trails off and expand in his own terms whatever the counselor's remarks had stimulated. In a sense the counselee is interpreting the counselor's pause, correctly, as a need for help with their dialogue. Although reflection is used frequently, its focus in ego-counseling is typically on the implications of the counselee's intentions and actions more than on his feelings. In C18, the counselor might have said, "Once you fall behind, classwork just seems futile." Instead, he reflects what the counselee seems to be doing, how he appears to be approaching the demands of classwork, and what this action seems to imply.

At S49, as he discusses the response of his parents to his poor academic grades, DO says: "I don't know...it doesn't affect me... perhaps it's my not caring for people's attitudes toward me, parents included...". S58 comes in after DO observes that he does not have much to say at home anyway. Note that when the counselor reflects his feeling at C61, he agrees, but then moves, himself, to a question of action. At C72, after DO cites other instances where his parents control him or do not recognize him, the counselor implies that this may have some relation to school work. When DO construes this himself, the counselor encourages him to explore its implication further.

Despite his promising analysis toward the end of Interview 2 or in retrospect, perhaps because it occurred too quickly, DO began Interview 3, 4, and 5 as if nothing had happened. Once more, he had nothing new to say. He did not know what to add concerning his sporadic efforts to crank up his schoolwork. He talked of quitting school, of moving to a rural area where his uncle led a simple, peaceful life. (Although a failure in all the usual--competitive--sports, DO is an excellent woodsman.) For awhile, he had a girl friend, a trumpet player in the school orchestra: "She talked like you"; she asked him about his plans for the future and the like. Apparently his answers did not satisfy her for before counseling terminated he was going with another female trumpet player.

During part of Interview 5, the counselor and counselee pursued the implications of DO's remarks in S90, Interview 1, where he mentions that half of him wants to do well and the other half fights it. DO felt that he did not really have the urge to win the battle. He says at S139, Interview 5: "Every time those small doses [of energetic effort to study] get started--figuratively speaking, (he smashes his hands hard) the other side squashes them. They don't have a chance to get started".

At C149, Interview 5, the counselor asked if DO were interested in continuing their talks the following week. He replied that it made no difference to him. At C150, the counselor answered: "Well, that's not a good reason...that it makes no difference. That's the "ornery" part of you speaking" (the part that fights DO's urge to do better). "The only reason to talk further is if it promises to make a difference". DO replies that he feels his talks with the counselor had helped even though there has been no radical change. At S154, he indicates that "...Maybe the ideas have been planted in my thick skull and they might germinate". At C158, the counselor again points to the conflict between the "very small but promising part of DO that wants to do better and that has the ability, as against the bigger part which so far has been taking the easy way". DO responds with S158, which seems to be an appropriate example of what is meant in the paradigm by "reorganization".

Perhaps, as DO implies, the concept of Group A and Group B had occurred to him prior to counseling. The stress with which DO explained the concept, however, suggests its very intimate meaning. Here, and at the end of Interview 2, it would be tempting to engage in clinical speculation about DO. He is big physically, but most of his life he has been subjected to bullying, even by boys littler than he; he has never been able to fight back. Prior to moving to his present community, his family had lived in a neighborhood where incidents of aggression and violence were commonplace. Yet the mother of DO continually punished any expression of aggression. A clinician might imagine her, like a black widow spider, draining DO's energy to fight back. Some version of the conflict between Group A and Group B has probably been part of DO's inner life since early childhood. One can imagine DO in a perpetual unresolved equilibrium between the injunctions of his mother and the requirements of his peers. His mother's demands have now become confounded with the academic tasks imposed by his teachers. He meets these tasks, again, with passivity: If he strives to be a good student, he will be conforming further to his mother's hated demands, and he will alienate himself further from the masculinity he hopes to establish by gaining acceptance in Group B. Can DO be helped to construe an essential difference between academic tasks and his mother's injunctions? Can he develop sufficient confidence in his capacities and his self-worth so that he no longer feels impelled to prove his masculinity to the boys in Group B? Can he find sufficient leverage from his identification with the values of Group A and from his analysis of the consequences of his present behavior to effect a "successful" change in his academic performance?

The case discussion has been diverted in order to raise at least three new questions about ego-counseling: (1) To what degree is psychological assessment appropriate and necessary? (2) Are "deep" interpretations made to the counselee? (3) If academic failure seems, as in this case, to be a derivative of long-standing partly unconscious conflicts, can the counselee be genuinely helped by treatment which is short-term and which is not directed to the historical roots of his reality problem?

(1) Psychological Assessment. Assessment is a critical part of all forms of psychological treatment; its special use concerns the question in a particular case about what kind of treatment is needed. Although formal clinical testing and diagnosis may be critical in certain instances of ego-counseling, it is likely to be used by exception rather than as a regular practice. As he talks with a counselee, however, a counselor continually makes inferences about what is said and how the counselee says it. As the Pepinskys (1954) suggest, the counselor fashions and refashions a model of what the counselee is like. He refers to this model both when arriving at "case work" decisions--whether and how to treat, to refer, to leave alone--and when responding to the counselee in the moment-to-moment dialogue of an interview. Such assessment is engaged in without apology to a philosophy of client-centeredness. The imposing of symbols (Langer) and categories (Bruner) on experience is an inevitable aspect of being human; in his practice, an ego-counselor seeks to capitalize on, not to stifle, his own drives for cognitive understanding. He

does not consider attempts to employ technical meanings to be a necessary obstacle to a full acceptance of the counselee's right to his own meanings.

It is not yet clear to what degree formal command of dynamic psychology is necessary in order to practice ego-counseling. If the intentions in this research prove valid, counselors gradually will modify and apply to their practice appropriate concepts out of ego psychology. It is quite possible, however, that a counselor who is acute to the connection between DO's identification with Group A, his fealty to Group B, and his passivity in relation to his mother's demands, will have construed DO's dilemmas sufficiently to be of help, whatever the constructs he employs to integrate these themes.

(2) "Deep" Interpretation. Even if competent to conduct formal clinical assessments, an ego-counselor is not likely to introduce hypotheses about unconscious meanings into his discussion with the counselee. Assuming to be valid the hypothesized connection between academic failure, hostility toward a castrating mother, and concern about masculinity with relation to the standards of the boys in Group B, the counselor is unlikely to interpret this directly to DO. We know the formidable resistance the counselee may feel toward interpretations which challenge his self-esteem and his sense of what is objectively real and true. In extended psychotherapy, a therapist, by skillful reliance on relationship may gradually help a patient to accept even very threatening interpretations. In counseling, however, partly because of practical limits of time and training, but even more importantly because of a preference to remain close to the counselee's level of awareness, a counselor will attempt to express his hunches and interpretations with the words and concepts already introduced into their discussion by the counselee. Thus, the notion of his

mother's possessiveness, his passivity in the face of academic requirements, his sense of inadequacy in competition with his peers--these topics, introduced by DO himself, become the subject of the counseling discussion. The counselor attempts to help DO to construe connections among such themes and implications for his own choices and actions.

In brief, an ego-counselor will respond as intensively as possible from his own preconscious (Kubie) to the cues and symbols in the counselee's talk. He will employ whatever knowledge he has of behavioral science to give meaning to his observations of the counselee. In his effort to understand the counselee, he considers no area of thinking about human behavior, including the psychology of the unconscious, to be _arbitrarily_ outside his province. In his _search_ for understanding, he is limited only by his obligation as a scholar and as an ethical professional practitioner to be alert to the limits of his own competence. In his _communication_ of understanding to the counselee, however, he is likely to refrain from interpreting symbolic meanings or to discuss explanations in terms of theoretical abstractions.

(3) _Essential vs. Superficial Change_. Whether short-term treatment which focuses on present decisions and actions can be genuinely helpful with problems which derive from a complex of unconscious sources is a general issue in psychoanalysis. In DO's case, it might be questioned to what degree the themes of castration, of inferiority feelings, of concerns about masculinity, have to be articulated, discussed, and pursued to their roots in early developmental periods in order for him to resolve successfully such problems as that of school failure. For the present, we shall respond by turning the question around. If the counselee develops (for him) intelligible reasons for his difficulties and finds that the application of these reasons helps him to gain control

of his actions and to produce desirable results in some sector of present and future reality, for example, in dealing with school tasks--may this new "control" generalize not only to other sectors of his life but to the unconscious conflicts which they symbolize? Can ego gain supremacy in the battle among mother's injunctions, the expectations of the school, and the exactions of the boys in Group B, without DO uncovering what he felt in the midst of earlier (losing) battles with mother and with peers? If DO "successfully" comes to terms with some of the conditions in present reality with which his deeper conflicts are symbolically associated, may not the need for some of the defenses and for the energy bound to them be abated?

In brief, I am suggesting that the effects of solving reality problems can generalize downward into the psychic system. The trauma of a deep conflict may be reduced as the result of mastering less central but still important problems in the current reality.

As the 6th Interview proceeds, the counselor and DO "rehearse" other obstacles and contingencies: The counselee realizes that as a result of his past inactivity, his foundation for certain academic subjects is weak. Apart from this, he will experience natural lapses of interest and productiveness. His teachers, too, may express disbelief in his promise and capacity to produce; in some instances, a teacher may continue to downgrade his work out of habit, following his earlier experience with DO's failures. Nor is there likely to be a sudden change in DO's relations with his parents. All his life, DO indicates, his mother has raised objections to everything he has done. Although she probably does what she thinks is for his good, her possessiveness "always creates a turmoil." She could not get along with his brother and his brother's wife for the same reason.

At C74, the counselor picks up the theme of his mother's possessiveness. At S74, DO conveys how his mother operates; he demonstrates that he is able to describe her behavior with some degree of objectivity. After a brief review of his discussion with the guidance director, he and the counselor "rehearsed" once again, some of the obstacles to action which he may encounter, given even the strongest intention to improve his academic work. It is critical in this kind of discussion that the counselor not ally himself, either with the counselee against the parents or with the parents' values and standards against the counselee. The counselor's remarks are directed to ego--to the counselee's capacity to control his actions, however difficult such obstacles as the nagging possessiveness of his mother, so that he can realize those aims, immediate and long-term, which on the basis of thoughtful analysis he determines to be of highest importance. In a case where underachievement may be a kind of aggression against a parent's values, and thus may be of great satisfaction to the counselee, one might hypothecate the counselor asking the counselee whether he can improve his school work even though in doing so, he might please his parent. With DO, his mother's nagging behavior was construed as a condition which is unlikely to change and toward which he might consider adopting a strategy which will serve his interest as he can best project it in the long run. Although the counselor refrains from aligning himself with either party in the counselee's personal relationships, he need not remain detached or unfeeling. The counselee's anger, dread, perplexity are profoundly relevant to him; so are the counselee's feelings of joy and pleasure and love (struggle and tragedy are not the only themes in counseling; DO and his counselor frequently laughed together at his perceptive humor, even though the joke was often on him).

In Excerpt F are the last few moments of conversation. Note at C120 the counselor's reassurance. He attempts to limit his reassurance only to his belief in the counselee's potential. The counselee's capacities are not a fact; they are potentials whose realization will depend upon responsible actions by the counselee and a fair share of good fortune. The counselor never sinks to the bland reassurance that "things will work out all right." In pain as well as pleasure understanding has twin companions.

In C121, 6th Interview, the counselor accepts DO's gratitude with as much grace and as little digression as possible. The counselor is satisfied to have contributed to a life--he does not require the personal thanks of the counselee to validate his contribution. The counselor's own ego is strengthened and satisfied in the exercise of his craft, in the sharpening of his faculties. It can be proposed, in fact, that the counselor's strength to pursue his practice even in the face of frequent failure and ingratitude derives at least as much from his devotion to craft as from his commitment to serve humanity in the abstract.

DO was not interviewed, as was S.X.B., the counselee discussed next, after the completion of counseling. We thus do not have his own words with which to evaluate the outcome. He has reaffirmed his intention to devote more consistent effort to academic study. He has reviewed and reconstrued some of the obstacles to the attainment of his intention. He has perceived connections between his academic behavior and other areas of his life, whose relevance he had not previously understood. On reading the complete typescript, many additional (positive and negative) signs of outcome might be discerned. As in the later presentation of the material on S.X.B., it is not intended to prove from these fragments that "ego-counseling works." An enormous amount of theory development and empirical tryout need to be accomplished before one would assert a conviction about the method of ego-counseling. It is hoped that even this brief commentary on the excerpts from the DO case will suggest the kinds of investigation needed. In considering the outcomes of the DO case, we are led inevitably to wonder how we might evidence in any instance of counseling whether we have made a difference and whether that difference is significant and worthwhile.

A Counselee's Perspective

Let us examine a description by one counselee of his experience with ego-counseling. His testimony is not intended to prove that the process works; the statements of satisfied clients, however encouraging to their counselors, must always be suspect as evidence. But the counselee's observations may reveal how he experiences both his relationship with the counselor and the process of analyzing and reorganizing his own attitudes. The excerpts below were taken from an assessment interview with S.X.B., a very bright high school senior whose marginal academic performance would have him classified as an underachiever. His counseling had consisted of five interviews with a person other than the assessment interviewer. In the comments excerpted, the counselee is referring mainly to his heightened motivation to improve his academic work.

1. Counselee's perception of the counselor's ambiguity:

> ...I mean, he wouldn't, he never told me to do anything; and I don't know, he just, he never had, he never said anything...

2. Counselee's sense of being challenged (to examine the consequences of his behavior):

> ...He didn't make it a challenge to me to try and not just get by, I mean he didn't make the challenge to me, he made me make it a challenge to myself.

3. Counselee's "ingratitude":

> ...It did help me a little, I didn't think I would have, it probably would have been about two weeks ago that I would have decided that I had to study...

Whether in evaluating this case an investigator would agree or not with the counselee's claim that he would have improved anyway, it is significant that the counselee can acknowledge being helped, yet still credit his own capacity to help himself. A counselor might be well pleased by the counselee's effort here to preserve his sense of personal responsibility.

4. Counselee's feeling that he was "pushed," but not coerced:

> ...If he hadn't pushed me on, and actually he wasn't doing any at all, but he was, I know he was pushing me, he knew he was pushing me, but I, but he wouldn't admit it; he was doing it, I mean, he was making me do it, but in a way he wasn't even telling me to do it, he wasn't even asking me to do it and he wasn't even suggesting that I do it...

5. The counselee perceived that he was influenced to consider alternate modes of action:

> ...He was just saying two things: You do this, or you do this.

6. Note counselee's perception that, as he examined alternatives, he had been influenced to consider the consequences of his behavior:

> ...He'd say, where do you go when you do this, where do you go when you do that. Of course, then I'd tell him and then he'd say "eh"....

7. Counselee perceived that the counselor was fostering something in him:

> ...The seed was planted; he planted the seed, he kept working on it and so--it did help me; I'm sure.

8. Prior to counseling, S.X.B. both disliked and failed to carry out academic tasks:

> ...I was bound to have to wake up, not wake up that I had to study, but wake up that I had to study stuff that I didn't want to study.
>
> ...Yeah! I haven't actually changed my attitude but I've just changed my--my method.

The counselee has not been influenced to change his opinion about studying: he still dislikes it. He has changed, however, his "method"--his behavior in relation to tasks that he knows must get done if he wants to realize larger aims.

9. S.X.B. has not really liked his part-time jobs, but he has done the work anyway. Since counseling, he has come to see a parallel which had not been apparent to him before.

> There were things I did that I didn't want to do, such as work! But I never felt that way about studying. Actually, I still don't feel that way, but....
>
> ...It's really a funny thing; it never occurred to me, but things I didn't like to do at work...If you can't beat it, you've got to do it, so I did it....

He implied that the counselor has helped him to generalize his approach toward paid work to his approach toward academic study.

One might consider the counselee's new strategy toward academic study to be a poor payoff. Where is an intrinsic commitment to learning, to self-education? Is he not merely learning a strategy of manipulation to a new situation while missing the essential values of academic study? Such questions, bearing on larger issues in education, must, in this report, be slighted. For the present, it will be observed that the counseling interview is a poor medium in which to dramatize a new viewpoint or to persuade someone to revise his basic values. A lifetime of learning will have determined the counselee's awareness and beliefs with relation to the value of academic study. Even if he were inclined, the counselor of S.X.B. is unlikely to have the leverage in a few hours of conversation to win a basic new commitment to academic study. He derives part of his special power, in fact, by dampening his (normal) tendencies to direct or to exhort the counselee. S.X.B. is in counseling partly because efforts to motivate him by other means had failed to win his commitment.

Assuming the validity of S.X.B.'s observations about his experience with counseling, it might be inferred that his attitudes and his actions toward academic study are not less arbitrary and more effectively controlled. He might, in addition, have become more aware of his own responsibility for choice and for the consequences of his actions with reference to school and to other sectors of his life. He will be thus in a better position to cope with the demands of formal education and to capitalize on its opportunities. Perhaps no less a Philistine at this time than before counseling in his attitude toward education, he seems at least to be in a better position to examine and to revise his attitudes and academic performance, and to educate himself, should he eventually make the commitment.

A Paradigm of Ego-Counseling

A paradigm of the ego-counseling process as it is experienced by both counselee and counselor involves: (1) setting; (2) relationship; (3) analysis; (4) synthesis; (5) action.

Setting

The behavior of counselor and counselee is structured to some degree by general precedents about the purpose of their meeting. A counselor is expected to be aware of the opportunities and limits inherent in his function; the counselee clarifies for himself these opportunities and limits as part of the treatment process. In schools where program planning and college application are a major concern of guidance counselors, where guidance services often seem to serve mainly administrative efficiency and parents' anxieties, the student appearing for an interview at the guidance office is not typically prepared to engage in searching examination of his aims and his dilemmas. Although the regular guidance services in the schools attended by these subjects were reasonably flexible in their organization, their initial conception of counseling was still overly determined by an image of the guidance office as a place where you "find out how you did on the tests" and where you make plans to apply for college. In the case of S.X.B., the counselor was apparently successful in creating a setting, a "climate," in which the counselee found it appropriate to explore the purposes which might underlie his decisions and actions.

Relationship

The quality of the counseling relationship qua human relationship cannot be wholly dictated by formal rules. The extent to which the counselor discloses to a particular counselee the human concern presumptive in all his work, will be importantly determined by the counseling setting and by the counselor's continuing reassessment during their transactions of counselee needs and strengths. The counseling in this research has consisted mostly of short-contact proceedings with counselees who were assessed to be sufficiently mobile and autonomous to make and to implement decisions within insignificant sectors of their life during the relatively early future. Should a counselor find early or late in an ego-counseling series that his counselee does not meet these criteria, he alters his approach accordingly. He would be ready to modify such aspects as the number and scheduling of treatment sessions, the settings in which he meets his client and the kind of relationship he encourages. The main features of the method are believed to have an integrity which will survive a variety of modifications.

Counselor as Collaborator. In his relationship with a counselee, an ego-counselor is characteristically unassuming. His main attention, unless the counselee's feelings about him and about the conditions of their relationship become a distraction to either of them, is directed as early as possible in their interviews to the counselee as "investigator," as potential analyst of certain aspects of his personal condition. An ego-counselor is unassuming about the personal relationship in that he initially approaches the counselee as if the latter is ready to analyze some of the circumstances which underlie his presence in the interview. He assumes "unassumingly" that such analysis is natural and useful to do. He offers to collaborate with the counselee, to deliberate with him about the "meaning" of these circumstances and to attempt to help him to reconstrue them in ways that might lead the counselee to their more effective control. Whether a counselee in pain and bewilderment eagerly requests help, or whether he is referred against his will for behavior which is recognized as a problem only by someone else, or whether he is scheduled as part of a school or college counselor's effort to become acquainted with students who are assigned routinely to his case load, this general approach would seem to be still appropriate. A creative practitioner, of course, whatever his reliance on "method," meets each new person to some degree in unique, spontaneous ways.

The counselor-counselee collaboration in ego-counseling assumes a helping relationship; collaboration can be maintained with no necessary contradiction to the client-centered principles which have been enunciated so eloquently by Rogers(1951). An ego-counselor accepts a counselee nonevaluatively, i.e., he offers his collaboration, initially at least, without conditions; the counselee is free to reject his offer, without hazarding the counselor's disaffection. It is a premise of the method that he can, in Tyler's (1961) sense, "accept" the counselee unconditionally as a person and convey his acceptance sincerely, while still making judgments concerning the counselee's readiness to use his collaboration within such limits as time and the counselor's competence.

Concomitant with his communication of acceptance, the counselor makes an unremitting effort to understand the counselee and to impart his understanding.[3]

Analysis

There seems to be, unfortunately, no term not already pre-empted and given special meaning in dynamic psychology to comprehend the notion of analysis in counseling.[4] In the sense of perceptual learning, the process might be subsumed by the term "differentiation"; but this would slight the complex cycle of separation and combination of constructs in which the counselee becomes actively engaged as he makes new sense out of his experience.

The idea of analysis can be suggested by posing the kinds of questions with which a counselee might confront himself in this phase of ego-counseling. As a sector emerges from the deliberations between counselor and counselee, for example, concern about qualifying for college, the latter may ask: "What's expected of me? Do I have sufficient capacity to meet these expectations? What do I myself want? Am I really interested in this or that idea, object or activity? How do I compare with others? What am I really like? What am I doing, denying, distorting, avoiding? What are the consequences? What are the alternative ways to regard...? What goals make sense as my own? In what respects do my present efforts promise to realize or to fail them?"

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[3] At this point in the expanded published descriptions of ego-counseling, consideration was given to communication as technique and to the problem of transference.

[4] "Analysis" is used here in a general rather than in its special psychoanalytic sense. The term is employed deliberately to suggest an important place for cognitive processes in the conceptual framework for ego-counseling."

How tempting for a parent or friend or teacher to respond to such questions with his own insightful judgments! What a ready opportunity to portray to this young person a future with exhilarating visions and noble ends! The counselor, however, will offer his advice and solutions only by rare and thoughtful exception. He resists the temptation to substitute his own "mature" judgment for the counselee's. His essential aim is to foster understanding and to guide decisions for which the counselee will take responsibility and which he will be competent to implement himself.

Assuming that he is perceived to be a genuine collaborator, a counselor can interpret and confront what the counselee says and does without necessarily undermining the counselee's sense of personal responsibility. Conversations in which the counselor's style embodies reflection, questioning, interpretation[4] and confrontation[5] may actually make the counselor's role in the dialogue seem to the counselee less artificial than a style which is characteristically reflective. There are clinical indications, for example, that adolescent deliquents tend to construe permissive, ambiguous, persistently reflective behavior by a therapist to be either naive or dangerously seductive. It is crucial, of course, that interpretations be perceived to emanate from a well-intentioned collaborator, not from a mere critic; the counselor introduces new information and hypotheses into their discourse as one who is trying not to convert the counselee but to join him in a mutual effort at understanding. An ego-counselor will accept a counselee's possible disinclination to examine certain aspects of self-in-environment and to seek solutions to his "real" problems. But he will attempt to bring the counselee's attention to those requirements for choice and for action which may confront a counselee in his "real" environment.

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[4] "Interpretation" is used to refer to counselor statements which propose a construction of events in the experience of the counselee which the latter has not already himself formulated. Interpretation does not refer here to its technical psychoanalytic usage, in which the datum is given meaning by an already formulated general theory.

[5] "Confrontation" is a particular form of interpretation in which the counselor proposes that contradiction exists between two aspects of client thinking or overt behavior.

The subjects in this research were selected initially because their academic performance failed to meet the expectations implicit in the standard measures of intelligence used by investigators. It was later found that the counselees felt, painfully in many cases, that they were failing to satisfy their own standards. Thus a natural sector in counseling underachievers concerns the counselee's capacities and interests, decisions and actions (and their consequences and alternatives) with relation to the conditions of academic work. The questions raised above would then take more specific form as the counselor and counselee focused on the sector of academic study.

The following are a series of steps which a counselor and counselee might pursue in analyzing academic study as a sector:

1. As he comprehends the setting and finds in the counseling relationship that the responsibility for analysis and solution is to be his, the counselee begins to describe and to examine the manner in which he construes his school life, his role as a student, his current academic performance, the extent of his mastery over school tasks, etc.

2. The counselee is encouraged to project himself into the future, to discuss his conception of career and his general aims, to portray his image of self and ideal self. Where these are poorly differentiated, he is encouraged to consider the implications of being vague

and planless about such matters. The counselor refrains from "promoting" planfulness; he attempts to couch his observations to the counselee in terms of probable consequences as he--imperfectly--perceives them. (Does the emphasis on consequences in itself "promote" a value for planfulness? Maybe, but the connotation is not the same.) The counselee is encouraged to consider the connection between means and ends, the relation of his present actions to the realization of his personal aims.

3. Both parties consider obstacles to the counselee's aims and aspirations and the ways in which these obstacles might be resolved. The obstacles may be both personal and external: They may reside in the counselee's current attitudes and actions and in the forms of limits to capacity and to skill. Obstacles may also be perceived in certain of the counselee's primary relationships, for example, with a demanding, rejecting parent, or with a rigid, punitive teacher; or obstacles may exist in the form of practical limits to financial support.

4. As obstacles are considered, the counselee will be encouraged to engage in systematic appraisal of self and of external circumstance. The counselor, from his observations during the interviews, and from other information, has been making inferences continually about the counselee's capacities, dispositions and ego qualities. Using care and discretion, the counselor conveys certain of his inferences in the form of hunches and tentative hypotheses. As in traditional vocational counseling, the counselor may report the counselee's test scores, together with background information to enable the counselee to make useful comparisons of his performance with his peers; and the counselor may, as "expert" on certain sources of information for the counselee's use, relate his hypotheses to facts about education and the occupational world.

5. In his conversation, the counselee will have been revealing the degree to which he feels independent, competent, personally responsible, with reference to the requirements of academic study. An ego-counselor is likely to hypothesize about such qualities, about their "connectedness" with other aspects of the counselee's problems in the sector of academic study. In analyzing the possible causes and consequences of his underachievement, for example, a counselee may deny the value of school, accompanying his denial with unrealistic images of the success which he might obtain without continuing his education; or he may merely promise himself that things will be different next semester without attempting to make explicit what he will do to make a difference; or he may project blame for his difficulties on teachers and others without analyzing his part in what may be often vicious circles of retribution in his relationships with other persons. Where a counselee continues to deny or to postpone dealing with certain implications or likely consequences from his actions, the counselor, as his collaborator in his self-analysis, may offer his interpretations, but he is encouraged first to weigh their relevance and then to reject or to accept them for considered reasons.

Synthesis

The notion of analysis is joined intimately with that of synthesis. The thought processes of a counselee may be depicted in terms of endless cycles of analysis and synthesis. There is no ready system of concepts, however, to represent these processes adequately. Each investigator into the psychology of thinking tends to create different labels and different size units. Klein (1958) suggests that in studying cognitive attitudes one may slice the behavior to be observed" ...into any segment, gross or minute, of long or short duration, which shows the boundaries of an intention on one side and a behavioral change experienced as attaining the intention on the other" (p. 96). One who would conceptualize thought processes is thus confronted with the task of defining de novo his units and classes. In cognitive terms, ego-counseling may be said to help the counselee to attain a revised set of intentions, of "concepts" (Bruner, 1956), of "personal constructs" (Kelly, 1955) with reference to specified sectors. It should be noted that in the term "cognitive attitudes," Klein (1958) is referring to "organizing principles" which guide both action and the actor's decision that the result he achieves is "adequate." The outcomes of ego-counseling cannot be known sufficiently merely by observing changes in the counselee's performance, for example, the increased allocation by an underachiever of time to study, his achievement of higher grades, or his more cooperative behavior in class. Such actions can be judged to be adequate outcomes only if consistent with the counselee's organizing principles--with what he values and intends.

Successful counseling with underachievers may, in most instances, lead to higher school grades; but it is conceivable that some students who are underachieving may decide responsibly to reduce their efforts in certain courses, or to drop out of school. If they have clarified their reasons for doing so, and if these reasons can be judged to be integral with their long-term interests, the aims of ego-counseling may be sufficiently realized. The point bears repeating: ego-counseling is intended to foster within each counselee a more integral relation than formerly existed among his values, intentions, and actions. It is not to be employed to promote a particular set of values, intentions, and actions which may be sanctioned by a particular society. The contribution of ego-counseling to the welfare of a society can be substantial; but the contribution will be indirect. It will be realized in the accomplishments of those members who will have been helped through counseling to achieve some better quality of ego integrity, each in his own life.

Action

In long-term psychotherapy, the client has opportunity to test the relevance of emerging insights, to determine whether in direct confrontation he can control his anger or his fearfulness, to engage in tasks in which he can judge whether his performance has improved. In treatment which is characteristically short-term, such between-interview experimentation by the counselee is necessarily limited. It is possible that school counselors, who can remain in contact with their cases over a long span of time, can also stage these contacts so that the counselee may have the opportunity between interviews to test, by action, decisions he has made in the course of counseling. In the interest of systematizing counseling practice, the concept of the academic year as a time grid over which a half dozen counseling interviews might be spread planfully, merits a a tryout. The opportunity to transplant and to develop newborn intentions and concepts as they emerge is typically denied the counselee in short-term treatment.

The term "rehearsal"--for action--might more appropriately denote this aspect of ego-counseling. The counselor attempts to help the counselee envision how he will act, given particular situations, for example, how he might plan his study schedule, or how he might respond when he confronts a nagging parent or a demanding teacher, or how he might obtain certain information critical to his plans. The concern with action--with practical decisions and solutions--has been a natural one in counseling. It has distorted, in fact, the conventional view of counseling, one which tends to confuse counseling, with practical advice-giving. Interviews with school counselors often become overly concerned with the details of planning programs, with the transmission of information about colleges, with the "tracking" of a student's academic performance in an effort to keep him on the road to graduation. Counseling may be said to occur in such interviews only derivatively: to the extent that discussion of these topics helps to clarify the counselee's own bases for judgment and to see the implications and consequences of his actions.

Ego-counseling includes rehearsal and action, in part, because the institutional settings in which counseling has typically been practiced--high school guidance services, college centers, rehabilitation services--are concerned with practical effects. Educational institutions have a palpable interest in the quality of academic performance and vocational planning, in valid selection of students, and in the mature use by students of their extra-curricular time. They might reasonably expect their counselors to assist students to act more effectively in such matters. Essentially, however, action and rehearsal are included in a paradigm for ego-counseling not to make ego-counseling a more suitable function to practice in these institutions, but because action, feedback, and rehearsal for action are natural phases of a guidance and, thus, an educative process. A resolve during a counseling interview to repair a failing grade, for example, may become another mere New Year's resolution when the counselee confronts, one evening after another, the lonely vigil of study. The counselee needs to experience a connection between what he intends and construes during the interview and what he experiences in "natural" circumstances.

The entire paradigm set forth in this section is, of course, notional--a crude representation of the great variety of conversations which take place in counseling interviews. The concepts of setting, relationship, analysis, synthesis and action may separate out and fall in sequence to a small degree in certain cases. For the most part, however, all these concepts may be relevant to any excerpt of a counseling dialogue. They have been discussed separately in an effort to stimulate study and understanding or a process, part of whose strength, paradoxically, may lie in its resistance to systematic abstraction.

CHAPTER V

EGO-COUNSELING OUTCOMES

Part Two of the Research Design

The findings from the first of this two-part study, which evidence relationships between academic achievement status and certain ego characteristics, are reported in Chapter III. The present chapter deals with the second part of the study, where ego-counseling was employed as an experimental treatment variable with a sample of the underachieving boys. It is useful in counseling to have a common presenting problem; the sample was chosen so that each counselee, whatever his unique needs and predicaments, would be likely to introduce problems connected with his schoolwork.

The use of underachievement as a presenting problem necessarily makes academic performance one of the criteria of counseling outcome. This is a disadvantage in that it implies too narrow and direct an association between ego-counseling and schoolwork. Ego-counseling, as Chapter IV hopefully conveyed, is no mere corrective, but a complex process whose objectives are to increase an individual's awareness and competence with reference to a wide range of conditions. Changes in academic grades are not by themselves, even with "underachievers," sufficient criteria of counseling effectiveness; they become meaningful indicators only in relation to certain changes in the intentions and (second order) values of the student.

The problem of deriving any evidence of change, either in ego characteristics or schoolwork, given the necessary time limits of a research project, is thus elusive and frustrating. Even if a counselee would considerably heighten his efforts and improve his methods in schoolwork, it might be a long time before these are translated into measurable increments of skill and understanding. Furthermore, even if he were to achieve significant increments quickly, his teacher-given grades may not reflect them.

The primary criteria of ego-counseling outcome are suggested by the theory of adaptive ego functioning discussed in Chapters I and II. These include such criteria as planfulness, rationality, and personal control. It is presumed that if a person changes in a certain direction on such variables, he is likely to deal more effectively with a variety of life situations, including the requirements of academic work. The basic paradigm would be as follows:

Ego-counseling--Changes in ego--Changes in adaptive behavior, *perhaps* including schoolwork.

Our logic here is controvertible. We seem to be slighting the *behavioral* criterion of academic grades in favor of less "real" measures in our assessment battery. We are mindful of this anomaly; we share the behavioral scientist's preference for behavioral criteria. The question of what are *relevant* behavioral outcomes, however, which confounds much experimental research in education, is especially troublesome in studies of such open-ended processes as counseling. A sufficient assessment of counseling outcomes would need repeated observations of the relevant behavior of the counselee, in a wide range of life situations, for an extended period of time following counseling. What is relevant to observe might also vary to some extent with each counselee, depending upon the main problems he brings to and examines during counseling. Early in this study it had been planned to make specific predictions for and assessments of each counseling case. The summary sheets for the assessment interview and the method of analyzing ego-counseling interviews

Appendixes E, I, were part of this plan. The efforts to carry it through, however, met insurmountable administrative obstacles; for example, the specific predictions could not be tailored prior to the time counseling had to be initiated.

The outcome analysis, therefore, is limited in several ways. First, it tests only a one-time, short-term application of ego-counseling. Second, it uses only the academic grades and certain test measures of ego-characteristics as criteria for change. Third, it uses aggregate criterion measures for the counseled group as compared with the control groups; it does not provide for analysis of individual differences among counselees prior to counseling, to determine which outcomes might be most appropriate for each counselee. These limitations are found, of course, in most other counseling research.

Sampling, Statistical Procedures, and Findings

Since the counseling sessions were all staged in the last half of the academic year and, in some cases, were not terminated until just before the close of school, it seemed necessary to conduct post-tests not only immediately after counseling but also during the year following. Rothney (1956) suggests the value of a time lapse between termination of counseling and assessment of possible outcomes. An intermission serves to minimize the "halo" and the "hello-goodbye" effects (Cronbach, 1949) produced by the good will which the counselee feels, if only because the counselor has been cordial and has tried to be helpful.

The basic three groups of Underachievers, par achievers, and underachievers studied in Chapter III also provided the subjects for the assessment of counseling. Different samples were drawn from these groups, however, depending on the kind of instruments from which the data under analysis were obtained. The Q-Sort analysis involved all the subjects in the three basic groups. However, a sample of only sophomores and juniors was used to study possible changes during the year after counseling in grades and on the standardized inventories. Another sample was drawn from the same basic groups to assess changes in the TAT data.

Assessment of Changes in Grades: Immediately after Counseling

To measure the possible effects of counseling on academic grades, a two-way analysis of variance technique was used. A covariance adjustment partialled out the possible effects of differences in grading practices at the two high schools and across the three classes of students (sophomores, juniors, and seniors).[1] The first analysis was performed for the school year during which counseling took place. The findings for the group means before and immediately after the counseling are presented in Tables 41 and 42. The scores are in the form of standardized discrepancy units; the subject's discrepancy (D) score represents that portion of a standard deviation by which his actual grade point average differs from the GPA which had been predicted, using a regression formula, from his score on the aptitude (SCAT) test. Covariance was used to adjust each individual's (D) score to the grand mean grade point average for boys in his particular class and school for the year in which counseling took place.

The distribution of subjects to the various sub-groups in the research sample is found in Table 1, Chapter II. The 95 underachievers

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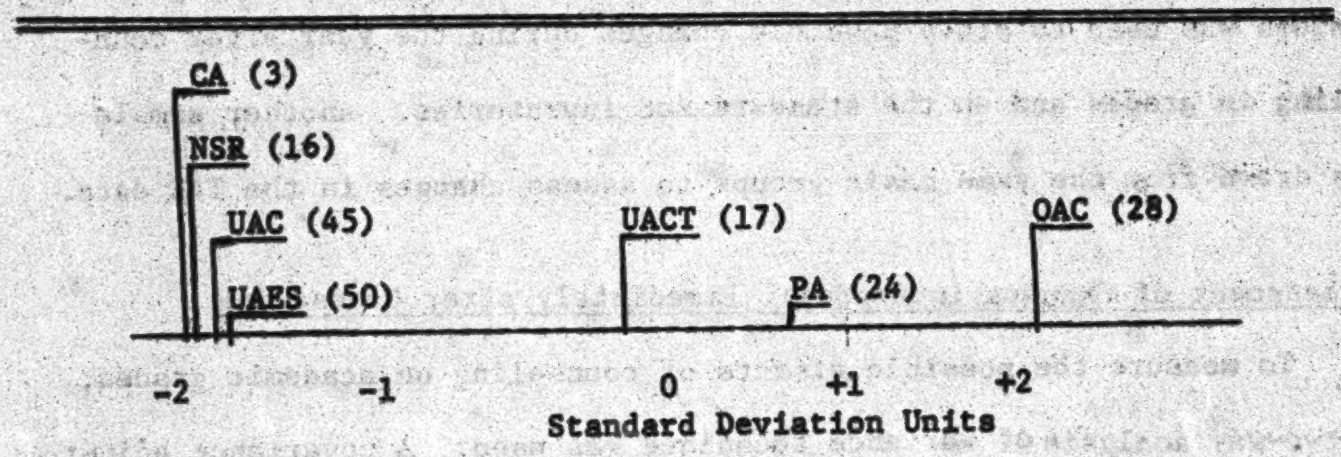
[1] The covariance procedure was suggested by Dr. John D. Carroll, then Harvard Graduate School of Education, currently at the Educational Testing Service. The average grade-point index for the boys in each school at the end of the first academic year was the covariance adjustment statistic.

TABLE 41

RELATIVE D SCORES OF ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS



Note. N of each group is shown in the parentheses.

TABLE 42

ADJUSTED MEAN D SCORES FOR ALL ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER COUNSELING

Group	N	Adjusted Means	
		Before Counseling	After Counseling
UAES	50	-1.71	-1.75
UAC	45	-1.84	-1.93
PA	24	+0.12	+0.18
OAC	28	+2.24	+2.18
NSR	16	-1.95	-2.18
CA	3	-1.98	-2.34
UACT	17	-0.53	-0.65

who constituted the basic UA group for the analysis in Chapter III were divided into 50 counselees and 45 non-counseled control subjects. The counseled group from here on will be designated as the Underachiever Experimental Sample (UAES); the underachiever controls will be designated as UAC. At the bottom of Table 1, Chapter II are listed the groups of subjects who were screened out of the final research samples. In order to suggest the full distribution of bright underachieving high school boys in a large school district,[2] three of the excluded groups are also listed on Tables 41 and 42. These are the boys who were judged to have pervasive emotional problems (Non-sample Refer, NSR); those whose academic performance had begun to improve during the assessment period (Underachiever in Transition, UACT); and the boys with whom counseling was initiated but not essentially continued (Counseling Attrition, CA). Table 41 depicts the approximate distance of the mean D scores of these groups from the UAES and UAC on the discrepancy continuum.

Table 42 suggests that the mean negative discrepancies of these groups, and of the UAC, increased more by the end of the school year than did the mean of the UAES; but the differences are not statistically significant. Analysis of variance evidences that only group membership--neither time nor interaction--had any effect on the students' D scores. In other words, any changes in grades among the members of the UAES group between the first and the fourth marking periods--counseling took place mainly during the third marking period--cannot be attributed to counseling.

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[2] "Bright underachievers" as defined in this research.

Assessment of Grade Change One Year After Counseling

The sample to be studied in this part of the investigation was made up of 63 underachievers, 17 par achievers, and 18 overachievers who had been juniors and sophomores during the first year of this study. Of the underachievers, 32 remained in the counseled group (UASE) and 31 in the control group (UAC). The par achievers (PA) and overachiever (OA) control groups consisted of all the original members still in the Oxford High Schools at the end of the second year of the research. As with the basic sample, the new UAES and control groups were found to be comparable on such variables as scholastic aptitude (SCAT and WAIS), and on socioeconomic status; furthermore, the mean academic discrepancy scores for the UAES and UAC were found to be similar.

The same two-way analysis of variance technique with covariance adjustment was used as above.[3] This procedure partitioned the source

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[3] It might be useful to detail the analysis of variance technique further. This method partitions the total variance into four sources: row effect (group membership), column effect (time), interaction (group membership and time), and the within group variance. For the first three effects, F ratios are computed by dividing the variance estimates by the within group variance estimate. To test the over-all significance of counseling, the F ratio for interaction is the appropriate statistic. If the F ratio for group membership (rows) is significant, then original group membership affects both pretest and post test scores. If the F ratio for time is significant, then the time of the measurement affects the scores for all groups. If the F ratio for interaction is significant, then time _and_ group membership affect the scores. The research design specifies counseling as the independent variable over time for one group (UAES); the other three control groups were not "treated" over time. Significant interaction would indicate that academic discrepancy (D) scores are significantly influenced by counseling. If significant interaction is found, the final step is to inspect the groups means in both time periods to see if the scores changed in the predicted direction. This technique was suggested by Dr. William Cooley, then at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, currently at the University of Pittsburgh.

TABLE 43

ADJUSTED MEAN D SCORES FOR FOUR ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS BEFORE COUNSELING AND 18 MONTHS LATER

Achievement Group	Pretest	Post test
UAES (N = 32)	-1.67	-1.37
UAC (N = 31)	-1.75	-1.44
PA (N = 17)	+0.34	+0.11
OA (N = 18)	+2.29	+2.21

Note: None of the observed differences over time were significant for all four groups (F ratio = 0.28). When the UAES group and the UAC group were compared, the over-all F ratio for time effect was also not significant (F = 2.34).

of variation into a group membership effect, F ratio of 9.58 .001; a time effect, F ratio, 0.28; and an interaction effect, F ratio, 0.77. The interaction effect was not significant. Original group membership--not counseling--seems to be the major source of variation. (See Table 43.)

Assessment of Changes on Psychometric Test Scales

Of the psychometric tests in the original assessment battery, it was possible to readminister only the Study of Values (A-V) and the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey(G-Z). The assessment of possible change on these measures associated with counseling focused on the Economic Scale from the A-V and the Restraint and Thoughtfulness Scales from the G-Z. As reported in Chapter III, these scales had significantly differentiated between the UA and OA groups. Hypothesized here is that the scores of the counseled compared with the non-counseled underachievers would move more closely on these scales to the scores of the overachieving students. Such movement, if revealed, would not be a sufficient measure of counseling outcome; but its implications would be interesting. In fact,as Table 44 indicates, the original differences between the achievement groups on the Economic, Restraint, and Thoughtfulness Scales remained the major source of variation across the groups and over the 18 month time period. Since the interaction effects were not significant, the change on the psychometric test scales cannot be attributed to counseling.

One of the considerations here is in the typical design of the standardized psychometric tests. They are constructed specifically to be reliable, to produce relatively stable scores from one administration to another. The A-V and the G-Z, for example,have been shown to be highly reliable instruments. Berieter (1962) has considered the problem of measuring change in counseling with instruments which are

TABLE 44

TWO-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PSYCHOMETRIC TEST SCALES: FOUR ACHIEVEMENT GROUPS PRETEST, POSTTEST SCALE SCORES

Source of Variation	Sums of Squares	ndf	Variance Estimate
Economic Scale, AV			
Rows (group membership)	1,394.10	3	464.70
Columns (time)	8.57	1	8.57
RxC (interaction)	211.14	3	70.38
Within	10,277.13	188	54.66
Total	11,890.95	195	
Row P=8.50 sig. <.001	Col. F=.15 not sig.	RxC, F=1.28 not sig.	
Restraint Scale, G-Z			
Rows	3,211.94	3	1,070.64
Columns	231.47	1	231.47
RxC	284.82	3	94.94
Within	20,366.62	188	108.33
Total	24,094.87	195	
Row R-9.88 sig. <.001	Col. F=2.13 not sig.	RxC, F=.87 not sig.	
Thoughtfulness Scale, G-Z			
Rows	1,688.94	3	562.98
Columns	31.83	1	31.83
RxC	370.15	3	123.38
Within	24,104.01	188	128.21
Total	26,194.95	195	
Row P=4.39 sig. <.01	Col. F=.24 not sig,	RxC, F=.96 not sig.	

designed to measure the student's most basic and stable characteristics. Prediction prefers stable indicators; changeability on the test variables is regarded to be a source of error. But in counseling research--in most research involving educational outcomes--the changeability of certain measurable attributes is a desideratum. Berieter encourages the investigator to modify his instruments and his scoring procedures to make them most sensitive to change in the variables he is studying. It is uncertain whether this can be done, however, without a serious decrease in relability and thus, probably, in their validity. In any event, the ego characteristics measured by these scales did not evidence significant change as a function of counseling.

Counseling Outcomes in the TAT Data: Immediately after Counseling

Chapter III reports a comparison between the TAT-derived scores of a sample of 20 underachievers and 20 overachievers. In the TAT data the members of the two achievement groups differed on a number of variables associated with adaptive ego functioning. To assess counseling outcomes in the TAT data a sample of 20 counseled underachievers was compared with a sample of 20 non-counseled underachievers; both groups were drawn from the basic sample used in Chapter III. Then the scores of both groups were compared with the original TAT sample of 20 overachievers.

Data Classification Problem. An additional problem for this analysis was to determine just what constitutes an adaptive or maladaptive change between two administrations of the test. The variables on which to look for change are defined in the TAT rating blank (Appendix G); they include response to the story-telling task, responsibility, control, energy level, and comparison in adaptive functioning between the two test administrations. If, for example, the hero in a subject's first story to a card was rated as not accepting responsibility, but in the second story was rated as accepting responsibility, the change was classified as adaptive; an opposite change would be classified as maladaptive. Other specific refinements of the classification procedure are reported in Whitely (1964).

TAT Findings. There were no significant changes between the counseled and control groups either in response to the story-telling task, that is, telling more stories given the same number of opportunities, or on the specific need or press variables. Trends toward more adaptive functioning for the counseled group were suggested, however, in the way the heroes in the stories coped with pAggresion (at the .08 level), and nAutonomy (at the .10 level). Fisher's exact p was the statistical test used here.

On the variable control of impulse, members of the non-counseled group were evenly distributed between adaptive change (7), no change (6), and maladaptive change (7). Comparable figures for the counseled group were 15, 1, and 4, respectively. Chi square is not an appropriate statistic in this instance because the expected frequencies in the three-by-two table are too small in the no-change cells. But grouping the data into a two-by-two table increases the expected frequencies to an acceptable level. Table 45 thus evidences that the counseled group told significantly (at the .05 level) more stories in which the hero exhibited a change toward adaptive functioning.

The other variable which differentiated between the counseled and control groups was that of comparative change in adaptive functioning between the stories told in the first and second test administration. The Manual asks the raters to specify in which of two stories

TABLE 45

IMPULSE CONTROL BY UNDERACHIEVER COUNSELED AND UNDERACHIEVER CONTROL GROUPS

	Adaptive Change	Maladaptive or No Change	Totals	
Counseled	15	5	20	$X^2=4.95$*
Control	7	13	20	$p<.05$
Totals	22	18	40	

*Corrected for Continuity

told to the same card the hero's functioning was least adaptive and how much change, if any, had occurred. The stories were coded so that the raters could not know which of the two stories had been told first; the zero (no change) to 3 (major change) scale was thus really a -3 to +3 scale. For tabulation purposes, this was transposed to a scale of 1 to 7; on this scale a score of four represents no change. Since there were five cards in each test protocol five comparative ratings were made for each of the two test administrations. A total score for change is derived from multiplying five cards by the score on each card; a score of twenty would indicate no overall change during the interval between the first and second TAT administrations.

The distribution of counseled versus control underachievers on change in adaptive functioning is described in Table 46. The mean score for the combined counseled and control groups is 20.4; the control group mean is 19.5, and the counseled group mean is 21.4. The standard deviations of the counseled and control groups are 2.58 and 2.80 respectively. Both groups appear to be normally distributed around their means. The *t* test for the significance of the difference between group means yields a *t* of 5.02 which is significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 46

DIVISION OF UNDERACHIEVERS COUNSELED AND UNDERACHIEVERS CONTROL CASES ABOVE AND BELOW THE COMBINED GROUP MEAN

	After Counseling			
	Above	Below	Totals	
Counseled	15	7	20	X^2+4.05*
Control	5	15	20	$p<.05$
Totals	18	22	40	

*Corrected for Continuity

Casting the same data in a two-by-two table, and using the mean of the combined groups as the point of division, produces a significant difference at the .05 level between the counseled and control groups. (See Table 46.) The counseled subjects, according to the *t* test, and the Chi Square in Table 46 evidence the greater change toward adaptive functioning during the interval between test administrations. Some of the counseled subjects made relatively great measured changes; three counselees, however, decreased markedly. In a later section of this chapter, a study will be reported which contrasts the counselees whose TAT stories indicated improvement as compared with those who did not change in adaptive functioning.

The ego-counseling criterion variables on which the TAT scoring procedure was designed to measure change are: control of impulse in light of anticipated consequences, mediation of conflicting dispositions, adaptive response to environmental demands, employment of rational considerations in problem solving, acceptance of responsibility, and pursuit of remote goals in a dependable way. The first of these variables, impulse control, was significantly changed in a more adaptive direction for the UAES than the UAC group, as Table 45 indicates. The question remaining is how much change occurred relative to the OA control group. Did the counseled underachievers still resemble the former more closely?

Table 20 of Chapter III indicates that three of the underachievers told TAT stories in which the heroes were able to control their impulses, nine received "can't rate" scores, and eight were scored as unable to control their impulses. Table 46 reveals the corresponding values for the two underachiever groups following counseling, compared with overachievers.

TABLE 47

CONTROL OF IMPULSE

	Yes	Can't Rate	No	Totals	
OA	11	8	3	20	X^2=10.23
UAE (Counseled)	4	12	4	20	p<.05
UAC (Control)	3	10	7	20	df=4
Totals	18	29	14	60	

Although Table 45 evidences that the counseled group changed significantly (at the .05 level) in comparison with the control group, inspection of Table 47 reveals that counseled subjects resemble the underachiever controls more than they resemble the overachievers. The counseled underachievers still differ significantly from the overachiever control groups following counseling.

The general criteria for scoring adaptive behavior, reported in Chapter III, paralled the ego-counseling criterion variables mentioned above. Guided by a composite of these criteria, the raters made a blind global comparison of the pre- and post-counseling stories of the UAES and the UAC groups. The stories of the UAES subjects were rated (globally) to have changed significantly more (.02 level) with reference to the ego-counseling criteria than the stories of the underachiever controls.

Inferring from the changes on impulse control and global comparison between TAT stories, it appears that counseling did influence the counselee's thought processes relevant to some aspects of ego-adaptation theory. Why did not the data also evidence change on other ego variables which, in Chapter III, had distinguished UA from OA? Perhaps change on these variables did not occur: no change associated with counseling was evidenced on the psychometric test scales which previously had differentiated overachiever from underachievers. But certain TAT variables may be more sensitive than the psychometric tests to slight change. The short-contact counseling could not be expected to produce extensive changes; the theory of ego-counseling does not claim that it should. The global comparison between the pre-counseling and post-counseling stories told to the same TAT card seems to be the most sensitive change measure in all the data.

The raters were asked finally to indicate the variables which they had found both easy and difficult to rate. Such variables as acceptance of responsibility were said to be difficult, not because of the nature of the variable, but because of the nature of the stories. The underachievers did not, on the whole, tell as long or involved stories as is typical of most normal populations in their intelligence range. The raters felt that an involved story was necessary before a variable such as acceptance of responsibility could be rated with any degree of validity, while impulse control could be rated even in much less complex, imaginative, or involved stories. Certain limitations in the formal qualities of the stories, therefore, may account for the raters' inability to identify story content on which to judge presence, absence, or change in certain variables.

Change of the TAT One Year after Counseling. The subjects still in high school at the end of the second year of the Project were administered the TAT a third time. The protocols of the counselees were rated for change between the second and third TAT administrations on the variables control of impulse and comparison between stories for adaptiveness. In general, it was found that the counselees who had changed markedly from the first to the second TAT administration continued to change, or at least maintained their gains one year after counseling. Obversely, the counselees who had not changed on the second administration of the TAT, tended to remain the same one year later, and the counselees who had regressed at the time of the second administration immediately after counseling, stayed regressed. The level of adaptation attained following counseling thus tended, in the TAT data, to remain stable.

A Supplementary Comparison of Change versus No-Change Counselees In the TAT Data on Other Measures of Ability and Ego Characteristics [3]

The main analysis reported in this Chapter follows the classic research design of comparing aggregate measures on certain variables of the counseled group with a control group. Since the results of these comparisons are generally ambiguous, but also because it would have scientific rationale of its own, it was decided to conduct a within-group analysis of the counselees. Writing under the title "Negative Results Revisited", Bergin (1963) made the rather striking observation that almost no research has been conducted dealing with the differences within groups of counselees. The TAT data had evidenced adaptive change in the thought processes of some counselees and not others. It was decided to use the TAT findings as an indicator for assigning counselees to a change versus no-change status, then to compare the subjects in each status on other measures in the assessment battery. Such an analysis, it was postulated, would identify special considerations which must be made in selecting subjects for counseling; it would also add to our understanding of the factors that influence ego-counseling outcomes.

The TAT findings used to index change or no-change outcomes from counseling were derived from comparing the first and second administration of the TAT's; the first administration took place during the 1st and 2nd quarters of the school year; the second administration took place toward the end of the 4th quarter, after all counseling had been completed. Those students whose TAT heroes accepted the responsibility for their actions more readily and could control their impulse expression were placed in the change group. The students whose scores on the adaptive, responsibility, and control dimensions remained markedly the same, were assigned to the no-change group. The remaining nine students whose stories either changed minimally or who actually were rated less adaptive after counseling were excluded from the sample for this study. The change group and no-change group each were assigned twenty subjects, making a total sample of forty for this study.

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[3] This comparison study was carried out at the Harvard Graduate School of Education by Dr. John Whitley, Dr. Norman Sprinthall, and Miss Rolla Totton; Mrs. Shirley Whitely conducted an initial pilot study and assisted in the data analysis.

The results will be presented in three sections. The first section compares the subjects on certain variables in the precounseling assessment interviews. The second section considers certain precounseling measures from the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), Guilford-Zimmerman (G-Z), Study of Values (A-V), Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB), School and College Abilities Test (SCAT), and Grade Point Average (GPA). The third section of the results includes a factor analysis of the scores on these pychometric tests.

Sub-Group Comparisons on the Assessment Interviews.

The data from which the assessment interview findings in Chapter III were drawn, were reanalyzed to compare the change with the no-change group. A number of significant differences were found. The no-change counselees perceive their fathers in extreme terms, as either very strong or very weak ($x^2=11.3$, $df=5$, $p< .05$) and as either very involved or very detached ($x^2=5.4$, $df=2$, $p< .05$). They evaluated the influence of their mothers significantly more frequently than the change group as "bad" ($x^2=5.7$, $df=2$, $p< .05$). In terms of parental discipline, the no-change group sees the prime disciplinarian as severe ($x^2=6.4$, $df=2$, $p< .05$) and effective ($x^2=9.2$, $df=2$, $p< .01$); the change group as lax or neutral, and ineffective.

These underachieving boys did not differ in their perceptions of school or work (all UA's differed from OA's, however, on these variables). The change group viewed their hobbies and special interests as both time consuming ($x^2=6.2$, df=2, $p < .05$) and important ($x^2=5.6$, df=2, $p < .05$). The no-change group more frequently than the change group obtained financial income from their own sources ($x^2=15.8$, df=2, $p < .01$).

School behavior, for the no-change group, was seen as significantly influenced by their parents ($x^2=6.1$, df-2, $p < .05$); the change group attributed negligible influence to their parents on their school behavior. Neither group perceived their parents to have great influence on their overall behavior or choice of vocation.

The change group perceived school and college in a blend of intrinsic and extrinsic terms; the no-change counselees were predominantly extrinsic in their orientation ($x^2=5.9$, df=2, $p < .05$).

The groups did not differ in their conceptualizations of self, peers, or family, although the change group perceived school in more differentiated terms ($x^2=6.4$, df=2, $p < .05$).

Comparison of the Counselee Sub-Groups on the Objective Tests.

The objective test battery contained a balance of intellective, interest, and personality tests. The results from these objective tests were compared by a "t" test of the differences between group means. The psychometric scales on which the significant group differences were found are presented in Table 48.

Factor Analysis Results.

The purpose of the factor analysis was to reduce the overlap among the objective measures and thereby reduce the number of measures needed to differentiate the groups. The technique selected was Principal Components Analysis with unities in the diagonals, as

TABLE 48

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHANGE AND NO-CHANGE COUNSELEES

Variable	Group			
	Change	No-Change	t	Significance
GPA before	5.2	4.0	2.87	.01
GPA after	5.1	4.1	2.34	.05
SCAT	308.2	301.7	2.26	.05
Strong - Psychologist	39.2	32.2	2.15	.05
YMCA Secretary	32.2	24.5	2.02	.05
Social Worker	39.0	31.1	2.07	.05
Minister	26.9	19.4	2.13	.05
Masc.-Fem.	59.9	65.4	2.33	.05
WAIS - Verbal I.Q.	125.4	119.3	2.62	.02
Information	13.8	12.5	2.59	.02
Similarities	12.8	11.6	2.49	.02
Vocabulary	12.9	11.8	2.04	.02
GZ - General Activity	38.7	51.3	4.04	.001
Restraint	48.6	41.9	2.35	.05
AV - Social	44.3	40.1	2.16	.05

outlined by Cooley and Lohnes(1962. This was followed by a varimax rotation which yielded (of 84 possible factors) three factors accounting for 51 per cent of the variance. All variables with loadings greater than .55, significant at the .01 level, were used in ascertaining the trait composition of the factors.[4]

The three factors which emerged are as follows for the change group:

Factor I.

Positive loading

SVIB lawyer	.88
SVIB occupational level	.88
SVIB cert. public accountant	.79
SVIB advertising man	.78
SVIB life ins. salesman	.72
SVIB sales manager	.64
SVIB president-mfg. concern	.61
SVIB author	.60
SVIB real estate salesman	.58

Negative loading

SVIB forest service man	-.67
SVIB masc.-fem.	-.69
SVIB aviator	-.72
SVIB policeman	-.78
SVIB carpenter	-.80
SVIB printer	-.80
SVIB voc. agri. teacher	-.83
SVIB farmer	-.84
SVIB	

Factor I for the change group may be summarized as professional and white-collar interest and value orientation (the positive loading) versus blue-collar and outdoor interests and values (the negative loading).

Factor II.

Positive loading

SVIB Y.M.C.A. secretary	.96
SVIB Soc. studies H. S. teacher	.93
SVIB Personnel director	.90
SVIB Social worker	.90
SVIB Interest maturity	.89
SVIB Public administrator	.88
SVIB Minister	.88
SVIB Y.M.C.A. Phy. director	.86
SVIB City school supt.	.86

Negative loading

SVIB Engineer	-.57
SVIB Physicist	-.58
SVIB Architect	-.60
SVIB Dentist	-.60
SVIB Artist	-.70

Factor II for the change group may be summarized as a value orientation toward people (the positive loading) versus a value orientation toward the inanimate (the negative loading).

Factor III.

Positive loading

SVIB Physician	.85
SVIB Chemist	.83
SVIB Psychologist	.80
SVIB Mathematician	.72
SVIB Physicist	.68
SVIB Musician	.65
WAIS Vocabulary	.64
Grade point average (before)	.62
SCAT Total	.62
Grade point average (after)	.59
SVIB Engineer	.58

Negative loading

SVIB Real Estate Salesman	-.63
SVIB Purchasing Agent	-.65
SVIB Mortician	-.76
SVIB Banker	-.79

Factor III for the change group may be summarized as an intellectual ability-graduate profession value orientation (the positive loading) versus a value orientation toward the values of business men (the negative loading).

Discussion of the Counselee Sub-Group Findings.

From the differences of the groups on the above measures it is possible to derive an overall view of some personal characteristics of the two groups that would influence response to counseling.

The change group was significantly higher on GPA before counseling began. Given membership in the original underachievement category, it would seem that the worse an underachiever is doing in school, the less likely he will benefit from short-term counseling. Likewise, an analysis of the within group differences on the SCAT and WAIS reveals that the higher verbal or intellectual ability an underachiever has compared with the other students in the underachieving sample, the more likely he is to change as a function of counseling.

The change group manifests more closely the middle class value pattern of the school than does the no-change group. The change group was more interested in white collar and professional work, and showed a more social orientation. The no-change group, sharing interests with blue collar and outdoor men, are not in the mainstream of school values. That such a marked difference exists is somewhat surprising, since there were no differences between the groups on socio-economic status as measured by the Hamburger Scale (1957). (But see the supplementary analysis of socioeconomic differences in the assessment interview data reported in Chapter III.)

The no-change counselees, although they are in the college preparatory curricula, tend to negate certain value orientations of the school. It is thus possible that they also would not participate in counseling as readily as the counselees in the change group. The issues that the no-change counselees consider relevant to their lives are likely to be perceived by them as unsuited to discussion in a school setting. They may construe short-term counseling as merely another aspect of a generally negative school environment, rather than as something which they might use uniquely for themselves.

The no-change group was significantly higher on the SVIB Masculinity-Femininity scale, which generally indicates orientation toward things and "non-cultural" activities and less appreciation for aesthetic interests. Consistent with this was their measured preferences for activities and interests associated with inanimate, blue collar and outdoor occupations. While the no-change counselee's measured interests were away from the central concerns of school, their expressed interests were toward college and intellectual affairs. The no-change group is apparently inconsistent in these value orientations. Thus, the groups seem to have differed markedly in value orientation before the counseling began.

The relationship between counselor and student is of critical importance to counseling. If he is to use short-term counseling to explore his problems, it is necessary for the counselee to be free from marked conflict in forming relationships. The extreme characteristic attributed by the no-change counselees to their parents may make them less able to relate to their adult counselor, without transference to him of their feelings about their parents. Short-term counseling is not the appropriate treatment, as a general rule, for people who are struggling with long-standing developmental problems concerning their parents. To construe the influence of one's father as severe and of one's mother as bad implies a possibly substantial impediment to normal adolescent development. Such young men who are more likely to be in the no-change underachiever sample seem to be dealing with concerns earlier and more basic than the issues of normal adolescence.

The assessment interview data reported in Chapter III evidences that neither group felt their parents influenced overall behavior. The no-change group, however, felt that their parents significantly influenced their school behavior. They, and presumably their parents, wanted them to attend college, yet they were achieving at a level which might disqualify them from attending a desirable college. In other words, their relationships with their parents may be reducing their efforts and their effectiveness in their academic work. Indeed, they may be underachieving because they perceive their parents to be too highly involved in their school work. School achievement and admission to a "good" college are highly valued in the Oxford community. Underachievement may be a telling way for the individual to express a rebellion toward his parents and their aspirations for him. That underachievement may also contradict their own aspirations is a significant maladaptive feature of the way the ego of these underachievers functions.

The underachievers in this sample, despite their common classification, seem to represent two different populations of students. Neither group of underachievers, by definition, was even approximating its potential in school. Outside of school, however, the change group claimed to be involved in both important and time-consuming hobbies and special interests. The no-change group was much higher on the G-Z General Activity Scale, but there was no apparent accompanying personal involvement in activities outside school. Working for financial gaim, a possible indicator of a more extrinsic value orientation, differentiated this group from the other. Those who responded to the short-term counseling seemed before counseling to have become aware of and pursued some special interests, and developed a personal involvement in some activities. The factors causing their underachievement in school do not appear as all-pervasive as those of the no-change underachievers.

Two other measures differentiating these groups appear relevant to understanding how these students are responding to their situation. In their attitudes toward school the change group evidenced a mixed intrinsic and extrinsic value orientation, whereas the no-change group's was predominantly extrinsic. The findings in Chapter III identified significant value differences between overachievers and underachievers on the intrinsic-extrinsic dimension; the overachievers construe school and college, to a much greater degree, in intrinsic value terms. This suggests that the change group was originally closer to overachievesr in their value orientations.

The change group also lies between the no-change group and the overachiever students on the Restraint Scale of the G-Z. The perception of oneself as typically able to maintain self control seems related both to success in school and to response to short-term counseling. The underachievers whose TAT's tended to evidence stronger impulse control appear to be more likely to act in a controlled way when necessary and had done so in some areas of their lives, although not sufficiently in school.

There is indication that the no-change subjects were coping with early developmental issues concerning their relationships with their parents. The inconsistencies of their expressed interests, the apparent opposition of these interests to those of their parents, the minimal development of their capacity for personal involvement, and the orientation of their interests away from interaction with people suggest that their underachievement is a significant way to rebel against their parents.

The students of the change group gave indications of more mature and adaptive functioning. Their responses were characterized by stronger orientation to intrinsic values and more self-control and restraint. The issue of dependence versus independence was not as salient for this group;

they viewed their parents in relatively neutral terms, not feeling especially influenced by them either in school or in overall behavior. Their capacity for involvement in activities and with other persons made it more feasibile for them than for the other students to develop a relationship with a counselor in a short time. Underachievement in this group seems to be more a function of the school situation than a manifestation of basic difficulties with their parents.

Given that the members of the two groups differed on important attitude and personality variables, it is pertinent to ask what place short-term counseling had in inducing a change in the TAT responses. An important difference between overachievers and underachievers, reported in Chapter III, was in the ability of the heroes in the TAT stories to differentiate among alternatives and to act in accord with these differentiations. An ability to differentiate among complex alternatives and a capacity for personal involvement are prerequisite to adaptive behavior in a school system. The change group seem to have had these abilities before counseling, but had not been acting on the alternatives. Short-terms ego-counseling possibily assisted the members of the change group to act in response to exisiting dispositions and abilities.

In cases where the parent-child relationship is a major issue, short-term quidance counseling is probably not an appropriate method of professional assistance. A more accurate assessment of the nature of the problem of underachievement, and the extent to which it represents long-standing developmental issues, is an essential step in determining which students in a group of underachievers can benefit from short-term counseling.

Summary of Study of Within-Counselee Group

The following factors seem associated with positive change on TAT-measured ego characteristics in short-term counseling:

1. Perception of the mother's influence as good and perception of the father in other than extremes of involvement-detachment or severity-laxity.
2. Active involvement in some hobbies or special interests.
3. Perception of the values of school in other than strictly extrinsic terms.
4. Sharing the (measured) interests and value orientations of professional and white collar-workers.
5. A (measured) value orientation toward people.
6. Greater intellectual ability and interests.
7. An ability to carry out restrained or controlled action.

The following factors seem to contra-indicate change from short-term counseling:

1. Extreme perception of parents--i.e., mother as "bad" and father as severe.
2. Part-time employment rather than commitment to certain activities of interest even though family financial resources would permit the latter.
3. Perception of the values of school in mainly extrinsic terms.
4. Blue collar and ability for the achiever population.
5. Blue collar and outdoor occupational interests which are incogruent with the interests of one's parents.
6. A value orientation away from people.
7. The perception of parents as significantly influencing one's school behavior.

The study indicates that a most important consideration in counseling research may come early in a design, namely in the criteria for selecting subjects. This study has shown that within a group of counselees, two sub-groups identified _after_ counseling demonstrated substantial differences on certain measures of intellectual ability and ego characteristics made _prior to_ counseling. It was especially surprising to find systematic differences between change and no-change counselees on such measures as I. Q. and grade-point average within such a homogeneous and carefully screened sample of underachievers.

Confidence in the findings is necessarily conditioned by the fact that the subjects were not assigned to change versus no-change status on the basis of observed behavioral change but on the basis of measured change in their post-counseling TAT stories. Extrapolations from fantasy productions to behavior in real situations are necessarily risky. Yet, granting the methodological faults in the procedures by which the two sub-groups of counselees were defined, the systematic differences between them on the other pre-counseling measures still have interesting implications.

Other Measures of Counseling Outcome

Q-Sort

The Q-Sort findings reported in Chapter III evidenced interesting differences among the UA, PA, and OA groups in self-concept (correlation between self and ideal), self-in-situation (correlation between self and teacher's ideal), and in the rankings of adjectives by which the subjects described self and ideal. It had been hypothesized that, as a function of counseling, the counseled UA subjects (UAES) would change to resemble the PA and UA groups more than the non-counseled on these dimensions.

The slight post-counseling increases in self-concept and in self-in-situation favoring the UAES were not statistically significant. Interestingly, most of the variance between pre- and post-counseling scores was contributed by the OA group. The reasons seem to lie in the conditions of both the test administration and the Project design.

Unavoidable changes in the conditions for the second administration perhaps have invalidated all post-counseling Q-Sort findings. The pre-counseling administration was accomplished under very carefully controlled conditions. The same examiner administered the test in a one-to-one arrangement. The subjects seemed generally to have responded willingly and efficiently to the test requirements. The post-counseling administration, however, was somewhat crowded in among other end-of-year activities of the Project and of the students themselves. The crowding was not severe and is not likely to have spoiled the data on the other instruments. The Q-Sort, however, requires careful discrimination by the subject among adjective sorts; the Q-Sort data are thus particularly vulnerable to fatigue or disinterest.

Why did the overachievers produce most of the variance? The overachiever group mean correlation for self-concept before counseling was .73; after counseling it was .89. Such extremely high self-ideal congruence is rare for a given individual, let alone for a group average. It suggests careless or defensive sorting. Because this is but an instance of the larger problem of motivating maximum performance from research subjects it might be useful to list possible reasons for this anomaly: (1) The overachieving students might have been more "task-oriented" and construed the second administration, despite directions to the contrary, to be a trial of their ability to match the sorts. (2) The readministration came at the end of the school year when these students were involved with final examinations. Unlike many of the underachieving students, the summons to the Project Office was not viewed as a reprieve from school work. They might have viewed the testing as an unnecessary interruption of their main activities and thus dismissed its importance and answered indiscriminately. Furthermore, they knew that the research staff had maintained continuing contact with some other students throughout the year. They could have responded either: (3) by avoiding involvement in the testing and carrying out the sortings as an aimless task; and by (4) feeling "abandoned" by the research staff, by concluding that the staff did not really care about them as individuals but were serving their selfish purposes. A considerable effort was made throughout the Project to develop congenial and respectful relations with the subjects, even while standardizing the assessment procedures as rigorously as possible. Yet, even the most careful research administration cannot consistently control all "irrelevant" human factors in the research subjects. Even though they must deal with it to further their science, investigators might well respect this human resistance to being "controlled."

Analysis of Ego-Counseling Interviews

The manual and rating form which appear in Appendix I were developed to provide a means for systematic case analysis of the counseling sessions and for quantifying and scaling the interview content to provide additional measures of counseling process and outcome. The rating procedure was applied to a sample of twenty counselees.[5] The analysis produced scores on seven dimensions of counseling process; six referred mainly to the interview behavior of the counselee; they are setting, relationship, appraisal (analysis), reorganization, planning, and generalization. The scores on these ratings are quite interrelated apparently in a cumulative way. In other words, a counseling series which had a low rating on setting or relationship is most likely to be rated low in the other process variables; a series which is rated high on an initial process variable may be either low or high on each succeeding process variable. On the seventh process dimension, the rater judged to what degree the counselor had acted in accord with the requirements of the model of ego-counseling. Three of the four counselors had acted quite consistently in terms of the model; a fourth seems more to resemble the classic version of a nondirective counselor. His cases also seemed to show less change on the outcome dimensions. Because of the limited number of cases analyzed, however, it could not be determined exactly whether this was a systematic function of the difference between the counselors' methods. The ratings of outcome were made on the variables of responsibility, control, and non-arbitrariness. These ratings were generally low, ranging from zero to two on a five-point scale. The rater apparently did not find the degree of change which the ego-counseling model asserted could be expected to occur in these variables. The rater was also asked to estimate the degree to which the counselee changed in accord with the expectations of the counseling model. The ratings for the sample of twenty cases on this dimension were normally distributed on a one-to-five scale. The normal distribution does not seem to be a mere product of random selection. The rater judged each case separately and had an independent rationale for each estimate.

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[5] The analysis was carried out by Mrs. Evelen Alessio Murrin formerly Harvard School of Graduate Education, currently doctoral candidate, University of Pittsburgh. Administrative obstacles presented a systematic check on the reliability of her ratings. They are thus presented with the same reservations which apply to the assessment interview findings.

The distribution of overall ratings of counselee change derived from the counseling interview-analysis was correlated with each of the following variables from the Thematic Apperception Test:

1. Change in adaptive functioning story comparisons, first to the second administration (r=.37, n=9).
2. Overall change in control of impulse over the first through the third TAT administrations (r=.53,n=9).
3. Overall change in adaptive functioning over the first through the third TAT administration (r=.38, n=9).

Only nine subjects of the twenty whose counseling interviews had been analyzed had taken the third administration of the Thematic Apperception Test. When all twenty counselees in the sample are included, the correlation of the interview rated outcome with adaptive functioning on the first variable, drops to .067. When the scores of the eleven students who were not part of the third administration

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are correlated separately on this variable, the r obtained is -.04. Apparently this group of students, which included seven seniors, differed in their response to counseling. It is possible that the underachievers who were counseled only a few months before leaving high school and whose post-high school plans already might have been set, were less involved in the counseling process than the sophomores and juniors.

All the findings from the analysis of the counseling interviews are conditioned, not only by lack of a reliability statistic, but by the generally difficult methodological problems involved in quantifying these data. The findings are presented, nevertheless, to suggest a procedure which might be employed to sort out important variables in counseling process and outcome from the actual events of the interview.

Summary

The counseling outcomes in this study have been no less elusive to identify and measure than in other research of this kind. No change associated with counseling was evidenced in grade-point average or on the psychometric test scales which had distinguished underachievers from par achievers and overachievers. Some changes in adaptive functioning and impulse control as measured by the fantasy productions in the TAT were found to be associated with counseling. This finding is subject to the criticsm that the counseling interviews might merely have indirectly "taught" the subjects to create stories which would better satisfy the criteria of ego-counseling. A reading of the counseling typescripts tends to discredit this suspicion; the interview discussions were not typically directly associated with the criterion variables.

Furthermore, the initial gains made on the TAT were maintained a year later, as evidenced in comparing the findings on the third administration. If the changed stories reflected mere coaching, the effects of training might have been extinguished within a year.

A different perspective on the counseling outcomes was seen by comparing a change with a no-change sub-group among the counselees. The counselees who changed significantly (on certain TAT indicators) also differed significantly from the no-change counselees on certain pre-counseling measures of grade-point average, intellectual ability and ego characteristics. These systematic differences become even more salient when found within a group that had been carefully screened and equated to be homogeneous on these pre-counseling measures.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This study was conceived as a research in guidance counseling. The counseling model, derived from concepts in psychoanalytic ego theory, had been developed during several years of clinical practice and pilot study. It was planned to test the model with a sample of bright but underachieving high school boys as counselees. As the research was designed, however, the problem of underachievement assumed equal importance to that of counseling. The co-related objectives of the study thus were: (1) To develop and to evaluate a model of counseling suited to the needs of guidance practice in educational settings; and (2) To inquire into certain psychological and social conditions underlying the phenomenon of academic underachievement.

The research plan rested on two general assumptions: First, that academic underachievement is psychologically "real," not merely a statistical artifact. Because he dealt mainly with methodological faults and artifacts in research on underachievement, Thorndike's (1963) scholarly book inadvertently may influence educators to neglect other substantial issues. These issues concern philosophy as well as methodology. They involve fundamental questions about the influence of the school on the development of human character and competence, broadly considered.

A narrow positivistic emphasis on the refinement of observations and predictions may actually obstruct the development of effective educational methods. For example, one may deprecate underachievement as an artificial problem because it eludes current prediction and control; the methodology of prediction and experimental control is concerned with the stability of measures and isolation of manipulable variables. But education deals with "emergent" conditions and with objectives which elude precise operational definition. Suppose that academic underachievement in most cases is merely a secondary expression of highly interrelated personality variables? Suppose, as Loevinger (1966) suggests, that these variables may not be "polar," but may appear and disappear as milestones in psychological development, and that methods such as factor analysis do not adequately order such variables. Suppose further, that current school practices neither help to identify nor influence these personality characteristics. In brief, whatever the methodological anomalies, it is assumed that underachievement is a "real" condition in the thinking and behavior of certain students, requiring the serious attention of educators.

A second basic assumption is that guidance counseling is a unique form of educational dialogue, and that it involves a process which merits extensive research and development efforts. Ego counseling has been developed to be applicable in a wide range of situations where individuals must make personal decisions while lacking sufficient awareness of the alternatives among which they might choose, and the different consequences associated with each alternative. A corollary assumption is that educational instruction alone is insufficient to create this awareness.

Summary of Theory

Underachievement

Academic underachievement has been examined in this study as a problem in adaptive ego functioning. It was postulated that an individual's level of academic achievement relative to his capacity for academic work is a function of ego strength. Ego strength is determined by the way certain psychological capacities and dispositions are structured in a personality. These variables include impulse control, anticipation of consequences to behavior, and disposition to master reality.

The ego structure is built and revised during a life-long process of psychosocial development. Although certain key conditions, for example, recurrent experiences of success in a certain course with a certain teacher, may have a potent effect on the ego structure, it is ordinarily resistant to radical transformation.

Ego-Counseling

The model of ego-counseling evaluated in this research sets forth a number of considerations regarding the setting, the relationship, the collaborative analysis of the counselee's abilities and (ego) dispositions, synthesis by the counselee of new perceptions and information, and planning for action in some defined sector, for example, in school, in peer relations, or in future education or work.

The guidelines for developing criterion measures of ego-counseling outcome are drawn from a rationale set forth by Hummel (1962, P. 464). Successful ego-counseling is accompanied by increases in the ability of a person to:

1. Construe reality in increasingly accurate terms;
2. Differentiate and impose complex meanings on reality and his own fantasy;
3. Control impulse in the light of anticipated consequences;
4. Mediate conflicting dispositions;
5. Employ rational considerations in solving problems;
6. Pursue remote goals in a dependable way;
7. Achieve...a dynamic balance among psychic dispositions.

Although ego counseling in the present research was used with a sample of bright underachieving high school boys, it is not intended that ego-counseling be a mere corrective to academic performance. The above guidelines suggest that the objective of ego-counseling be realized in changed "second order" values and cognitive capacities of the counselee. Ego-counseling is a complex process whose objectives are to increase an individual's awareness and competence with reference to a wide range of conditions; it is not intended to be applicable to bring about a desired change of skill or behavior in a specific situation.

The seven aspects of adaptive ego functioning listed above may be considered as both general aims of ego-counseling and relevant variables on which to distinguish the attributes of underachieving students from those who are achieving at or above the level predicted.

Summary of the Research Design

The Research Setting and Population

The research population consisted of all 1,500 boys from the two high schools in a middle-class, suburban community. Using regression of School and College Ability Test scores (SCAT) on grade-point average, a research sample of boys was drawn from the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. This sample included only boys who scored above the 70th percentile (national norms) on the SCAT test and who were currently enrolled in one of the college preparatory curricula. Two-hundred and twenty boys were selected for further assessment, using the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), an assessment interview, and a check of school records. Different groupings of these 220 boys were used to study different research questions. The main sample consisted of 147 normal subjects who were divided into three groups of 95 underachievers, 24 par achievers, and 28 overachievers.

There were no significant differences across these achievement groups in measured mental ability. They were also found to be similar with respect to such variables as socio-economic status, age, educational aspirations, and religions-cultural background.

In addition to those instruments already mentioned, all the subjects in the study were administered an assessment battery consisting of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Strodtbeck V-Scale, the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, the Guildford-Zimmermen Temperament Survey, the Q Sort, the Thematic Apperception Test, the Test of Imagination, and the Cornell Work Values Scale.

Comparisons of the Data

In the first of the two-part design, the three achievement groups were compared on an array of variables related to the concept of ego adaptation. In the second part, a counseled group of fifty underachievers was compared on pre- and post-counseling measures with a group of forty-five non-counseled underachievers, with the par achiever and with over-achiever control groups.

Review of the Findings

Differences Between Underachievers and the Control Groups

The three groups were compared on scales from the objective tests, on the TAT variables, on a Q Sort, and on scales derived from a systematic rating of the assessment interviews. Most of the significant differences found are listed below.

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). The overachievers scored significantly higher on the Social Service, Occupational Level, and Interest Maturity Scales; the underachievers scored higher on the Business Contact Scales.

Strodtbeck V-Scale. The overachievers scored higher on a factor entitled positive orientation to planning, education, and mastery over the environment. There were no differences on the factors of adherence to authority and positive orientation to work-success.

Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values (A-V). Only the Economic Scale differentiated significantly among the three groups; the overachievers scored significantly lower on this scale than the others.

Guildford-Zimmermen Temperament Survey. The overachievers scored higher on the Restraint and Thoughtfulness Scales; no significant differences were found on the other eight scales.

Thematic Apperception Test. No significant differences were found among the achievement groups in simple occurrence of either needs or press. Differences importantly related to the theory of ego functioning, however, appeared in the methods and strategies which the heroes in the stories devised to cope with needs and press. The overachievers responded more adaptively to pAggression and pDominance. The superior achievers demonstrated greater cognizance of the relationship between means and ends in implementing the nAchievement. There were no differences among the heroes of the achievement groups in the degree to which they expressed Aggression adaptively; the overachievers, however, expressed Autonomy more adaptively. The heroes of the overachievers also accepted responsibility for their actions and were rated as being better able to control their impulses. Finally, although the groups did not differ significantly on rating of energy level, the overachievers demonstrated greater correlation between energy level, acceptance of responsibility, and control of impulse.

Q-Sort. The three groups differed significantly in the way they used adjectives to construe self, ideal self, and teacher's ideal student. The overachievers evidenced high correlations between self and ideal self, and between self and teacher's ideal student. The groups also differed in the actual ratings of the adjectives in describing self but not in the rankings which describe ideal self and teachers' ideal student. In general, the adjectives preferred by the overachievers referred to qualities of being studious, scholarly, motivated, and hard-working; the adjectives preferred by the underachievers included sense of humor, likeable, friendly, and distractable.

Assessment Interview. A special procedure was devised to score the assessment interviews on various perceptions and attributes of the students. The judges' ratings were made in terms of Osgood's (1958) three basic factors of activity, potency, and evaluation. The overachievers tended to perceive their fathers as being more influential and to evaluate the influence of both parents favorably in their lives. The underachievers perceived parental discipline to be more ineffective than did the overachievers. The overachievers were more involved in school, found it more demanding and more interesting than did the underachievers; their perceptions were similar with relation to teachers, class work, and extra-curricular activities. The underachievers were more involved in and more challenged by part-time jobs and recreational activities outside school. The overachievers tended to place the locus of responsibility and control for their decisions in themselves; the underachievers were likely to be vague about where responsibility and control lie, and much less likely to put it in themselves. All groups perceived their parents to have strong influence on their overall behavior and on their school behavior. The overachievers were more likely, however, to adhere to their parents' wishes, either because they agreed with them or trusted their judgment; the underachievers were more likely to be oppositional or ambivalent. Although somewhat less marked, the groups differed similarly with relation to parental influence on educational goals and choice of vocation.

The overachievers were likely to have much more differentiated life goals and to be aware of the supports and obstacles involved in realizing these goals. Their values for education with relation to vocational goals also tended to be more intrinsic; the underachievers tended to be markedly extrinsic. Finally, the overachievers were found to have more differentiated conceptions of self, father, mother, school, teachers, and courses than did the underachievers.

A supplementary analysis of the assessment interview data showed even more refined differences consistent with those reported above.

Methodological Note

A preferred design would have involved testing the entire school population and correlating their scores on the variables studied. The comparison between extreme groups of underachievers and overachievers is a less powerful procedure. But the practicalities of assessing an entire school population were forbidding. The disadvantages of the extreme group comparison were compensated, in part, by the use of the par achiever group. On the great majority of scales all the instruments where significant differences between overachievers and underachievers were found, the par achievers tended to fall in the middle. This suggests that the differences relate in linear fashion to the dimension of underachievement-overachievement.

Findings Related to Counseling Outcome

Two post-test comparisons were made, one at the end of the school year immediately following counseling, and the second at the end of the next school year. No significant differences between the counseled and non-counseled underachievers were found on the achievement discrepancy scores or on the scales of the objectives tests which distinguished the overachievers from the underachievers. This was attributed, in part, to the high correlations between the distribution of teachers' grades in these high schools from one year to the next and to the high reliability of such instruments as the Study of Values and the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey. No significant post-counseling differences were evidenced on the Q-Sort; noted here were the unfavorable test conditions during the post-counseling administration.

Significant post-counseling differences between the counseled and non-counseled underachievers were found on the variables of adaptive functioning and impulse control as measured by the Thematic Apperception Test; these differences were evident in the first post-counseling scores and were found to be sustained in the TAT data from the third administration one year later.

A supplementary sub-group analysis comparing the counselees who had changed on the TAT measures of adaptive functioning with those who had not changed was conducted. Significant differences in the pre-counseling measures of the "change" vs. "no-change" counselees was revealed on such variables as perception of mother and father, involvement in hobbies or special interests, value orientations toward school, work, and people, measured intellectual ability, and the (self-described) ability to act in a controlled way. These sub-group differences gain more importance from being found within a sample that had been carefully equated to be homogeneous on such variables.

Implications

Underachievement

The findings from the study of underachievement strongly encourage efforts to interpret this problem in terms of ego theory. In data from several different instruments, underachievers differ consistently from overachievers, not only in their interests but in values and cognitive attitudes anticipated substantially in the theory of adaptive ego functioning derived from such writers as Hartman (1959) White (1963) and

Rapaport (1959). Because the sample was derived from a population of suburban high school boys, generalization is necessarily limited. There is no known impediment, however, to applying and testing the theory on a population of boys in urban schools or, generally, to students of both sexes and other age levels in other kinds of communities. The concepts and procedures employed in this research may help more productively with the problem of identifying differences within populations of students from socio-economically disadvantaged families.

It is unfortunate that certain biases against psychoanalysis, shared in part by behavioral scientists and educational researchers, have influenced educators to ignore the relevance of ego psychology to academic achievement. Educational research has been tied too tightly to a positivism which wishes to remain close to the "data" which resists complex concepts. Research on educational practice which aims to "identify additional non-intellective factors" or to "increase motivation" or to "improve self-concept" seem inadequate to deal with the problems associated with achievement and underachievement. Freud and his successors have dramatized the complex and powerful developmental conditions which determine an individual's adaptation to his social milieu. The need to master the school's requirements for controlled performance while maintaining one's own identity and integrity is surely an important case of the problem of adaptation.

Psychoanalytic ego psychology offers investigators the advantage of a systematic metapsychology. Within its framework, an investigator can modify and reintegrate concepts, identify new variables, and develop various means of testing their efficacy.[1] Two purposes are served by this metapsychology: first, it assures a maximum degree of theoretical "purity," that is the possibility of reducing incompatible and mutually exclusive assumptions by imposing criteria of internal consistency. Second, hypotheses can be tested against each other within a consistent framework of assumptions about human behavior and development. In this instance, the problem of underachievement can be studied and examined empirically as an instance of fixation in failure or development by a systematic scheme. More generally, the "sociology" of psychoanalysis (See Marcuse, 1955) can be applied to explain certain outcomes in student motivation and achievement as a function of the organizational and social structure of the school.

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[1] Dr. John Whiteley originally suggested this argument.

Ego-Counseling

The empirical tests of the outcomes of ego-counseling in this study were mostly inconclusive, although the TAT data suggest that the counseled underachievers changed in certain ego characteristics related to impulse control and adaptive functioning; analysis of the counselees who changed on these variables against counselees who did not change indicate, however, that they were different in important ways before the counseling was initiated. This suggests, ironically, that counselees are more likely to improve if they were in better shape to begin with. More practically, it suggests the importance of assessing before counseling the likelihood of the counselees being capable of deriving meaningful, productive experiences from counseling.

Methodologically, a psychoanalytic ego theory of adaptive functioning brings to counseling advantages similar to those it brings to theory development concerning academic achievement and underachievement. It permits explaining the purpose, the process, and the objectives of counseling in a systematic, developmental framework. Counseling has leaned during the past decade on a self-concept theory which has neither a developmental framework nor an adequate systematic link to the conditions --to the people, ideas, tasks--

with which individuals cope in their environments. Self-concept theory, whatever its heuristic and descriptive values, seems strangely empty, artificial, and "privatistic" when employed to explain the human problems of adapting to the "real" world of family, education, work, and civic life. Ego psychology can subsume self-concept theory; but it is open to include other things too. The theory of ego-counseling is thus, hopefully, more relevant to the problems which engage counselees in schools, colleges, and other social settings.

Some Consideration for Counseling Practice

Practical limitations required that the ego-counseling sessions be conducted at one time in a single sequence of about five interviews. The ratings of the ego-counseling interviews suggest that this was too short a period of time for the counselee to explore issues related to such criteria as responsibility, control, and non-arbitrariness. Many of the counselees found in counseling a novel and powerful inducement to explore and reconstrue their own situations. But there seems generally to have been insufficient time to use this recognition and to carry out meaningful self-examination.

The problem of time in an educational setting might better be dealt with by staging ego-counseling interviews in a time grid across an academic year. The student would then be encouraged to construe the problems brought up in counseling in a developmental perspective. A necessary accompaniment, perhaps even more fundamental than the question of time interviews, is to phase counseling within a larger systematic program of guidance experiences. Time was "lost" in the interviews because many counselees needed to assess cautiously whether they wished to cultivate a meaningful relationship with the counselor. Guidance and group counseling might have made the relationship problem less formidable.

The ego-counseling model seems relevant to a wide range of educational situations. It has been applied with very promising success by Mosher (1964) in supervision of intern teachers over the course of a year of graduate training. Also underway are applications of the models to guidance sessions with groups of high school students.

A Final Note

A neglected, but often critical, part of a report on a project of this kind concerns the way practical administrative problems are solved or fail to be solved. To plan and to maintain an experimental design in the natural state conditions of a school requires a degree of good fortune which none of us is sufficiently virtuous to merit. The unplanned loss of an administrative secretary and research assistant to motherhood; abortive computers and tape recorder, snowbound students, slips in the wrong mail boxes, and other hazards of daily operations can accumulate to monstrous proportions. This is perhaps the most severe test of a scientist's fundamental assumption that he is dealing with an orderly universe. It is hoped that this study has reduced even a little of the disorder concerning the phenomenon of underachievement and the utility of counseling.

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APPENDIX A

Q-Sort Adjective List, Alphabetical Ordering, and Numerical Ordering

aggressive	(26)	friendly	(48)	responsible	(35)
ambitious	(20)	hard-working	(30)	scholarly	(21)
assertive	(19)	hostile	(49)	self-centered	(39)
attractive	(33)	impressionable	(3)	self-reliant	(23)
bright	(10)	impulsive	(40)	sense of humor	(5)
confused	(28)	inhibited	(37)	sensitive	(11)
competitive	(15)	insecure	(17)	shy	(29)
conscientious	(4)	intense	(7)	sociable	(50)
contented	(43)	lazy	(9)	studious	(8)
controlled	(24)	likable	(32)	submissive	(18)
different	(22)	lonely	(12)	suspicious	(47)
disorganized	(44)	motivated	(16)	tolerant	(36)
distractable	(6)	optimistic	(34)	understanding	(13)
disturbed	(27)	poised	(38)	unreliable	(42)
dominating	(14)	purposeful	(1)	warm	(46)
dreamy	(2)	rational	(45)	worthless	(41)
		relaxed	(31)		

Each student sorted the adjectives into nine piles along a continuum from LEAST LIKE to MOST LIKE according to frequencies shown below.

	Least Like						Most Like			
Column Score	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Number of Cards in Pile	2	3	6	9	10	9	6	3	2	(n = 50)

APPENDIX B

Copy of Strodtbeck V-Scale (Modified)

NAME ____________________ GRADE ____________________

AGE ______________________________ DATE ____________________
at time of last birthday

Here are some statements with which some boys agree and some boys disagree. Would you please give us your opinions about these statements. Put a check mark after the word "Agree" if you agree in general with the statement. Put a check mark after the word "Disagree" if you in general disagree with the statement. Do not leave any statements unmarked even though you may find the choice difficult. If you want to make any comments or additions you are encouraged to write them in the space after each statement.

Do not bother to spend too long thinking about these statements; give first judgment answers.

1. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyhow.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

____

2. When a man is born, the success he's going to have is already in the cards, so he might as well accept it and not fight against it.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

____

3. Even if teen-agers get married their main loyalty should still belong to their mothers and fathers.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

____

4. The best kind of job to have is one where you are part of an organization, all working together even if you don't get individual credit.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

5. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents, even if it means giving up a good job.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

6. It's silly for a teen-ager to put money into a car when the money could be used to get started in business or for an education.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

7. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

8. Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the smart person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

9. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

10. Parents expect too much of their children.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree____

Comment____

____

11. There's nothing a person can't be or do if he really wants to and works hard to do it.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree____

Comment____

____

12. Parents don't really care about a son's being a success as long as he's decent and honest and lives near them.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree____

Comment____

____

13. All I want out of life is a steady job, a job that's not too hard and one that pays me enough to buy a nice car and a comfortable home.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree____

Comment____

____

14. To benefit from his courses, a student should have a clear idea of what he intends to do when he gets out of high school.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree____

Comment____

____

15. A good teacher's job is to keep his students from wandering from the right track.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree____

Comment____

____

16. The worst thing about a lazy student is that he is letting his parents down.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

17. There is nothing more annoying than a question that may have more than one right answer.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

18. Students sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

19. It helps the child in the long run if he is made to accept his parent's ideas.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

20. A person can attain anything in life if he wants it hard enough.

Agree_____ Tend to Agree_____ Disagree_____ Tend to Disagree_____

Comment____

APPENDIX C

Copy of Cornell Work Values Scale (Modified)

When high school students report their requirements for an IDEAL JOB, they usually say it would have to satisfy certain requirements. Some of the requirements they mention are listed below.

As you read the list, consider to what extent a job or career would have to satisfy each of these requirements before you could consider it IDEAL. Add any requirements not mentioned in the list.

Indicate your opinion by writing:

H (high) next to the requirements you consider highly important.

M (medium) next to the requirements you consider of medium importance.

L (low) next to the requirements you consider of little or no importance or even distasteful to you.

Indicate
H, M, L   The ideal job for me would have to........................

a. Provide an opportunity to make full use of my special abilities or aptitudes.

b. Provide me with a chance to earn a good deal of money.

c. Permit me to invent things and be original.

d. Give me prestige and social importance.

e. Give me an opportunity to work with people I like.

f. Enable me to look forward to a stable, secure future.

g. Leave me to work for myself, free of supervision.

h. Give me a chance to exercise leadership.

i. Provide me with variety or adventure.

j. Give me an opportunity to be helpful to others.

k. Allow me to spend a lot of time with my family.

l. Give me a chance to use my brain and to search for the "meaning" of things.

m. Other____

Now go back and look at the requirements you rated "high." Rank them in the order of importance to you by writing next to each H:

1 ____ for the most important

2 ____ for the next in importance, and so on.

Do not rank the M's and L's.

2. Here are three different kinds of jobs. If you had your choice, which would you pick?

1. ____ A job which pays quite a low income but which you were sure of keeping.

2. ____ A job which pays a good income but which you have a 50-50 chance of losing.

3. ____ A job which pays an extremely good income if you make the grade but in which you lose almost everything if you don't make it.

3. What is your opinion of the following statements about getting ahead? Beside each statement please place a check in the column which best expresses your opinion.

In order to get ahead these days...	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. You can't afford to be squeamish about the means you use.					
b. You have to think of new ways of doing things.					
c. You have to be able to make people do what you want.					
d. You have to follow instructions to a "T".					

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
e.	You really have to love your work.					
f.	You're better off in a big, established organization.					
g.	You have to do exactly what is required of you, no more, no less.					
h.	It's better to play it safe than to try something new and risk failures.					

APPENDIX D

Schedule for Assessment Interview

I. Relationship of students to the project

A. Why?

1. We're interested in understanding high school students like yourself and improving the help the guidance program can give you.

2. This is part of an effort to add to and to improve the school's guidance services. We are consultants cooperating with the faculty, particularly with the guidance staff.

3. (If a boy should ask "Why me?") We are giving these extra services to as many boys as we can.

4. (If a boy should ask whether he will be informed of the results) Some of the results may be discussed with you later by the guidance counselor.

B. Confidentiality

1. Make clear that only standard test information will be given to guidance counselors, not interview information.

C. Recording

1. To save time; to give us a chance to look back on what we've done.

II. Relationship of student to school

A. Perception of the school task

Tell me something about how you feel about school. (Listen or probe for likes, dislikes, special concerns, and dilemmas.)

1. Grades as related to self
How do you feel about your grades?
Are they a fair estimate of what you can do?
How do your folks feel about your grades?
How do your marks compare with those of your friends?

2. Concern about intellectual matters
Would you say that you are the kind of person who enjoys studying?
What are the things that you like (dislike) about studying?

3. Organization of school tasks
Tell me something about how you study and where you study.

4. Extra-curricular activities
   Are you active in sports here? In clubs or hobby groups?
   If not, why?

5. General meaning of school
   What do you feel you are getting out of school?

B. Comparison of last year's performance with this year's

   How does this year's record compare with previous record?
   (If different) How do you account for it?
   How did it happen?
   What influenced you?

C. Perception of teachers

   What are your teachers like?

D. Perception of student culture

1. Attitude toward student values
   In what ways do you feel different from the other students?
   What kinds of kids to you prefer to hang around with?

2. Relationship to student organizations and groups
   What sort of things do you do with other students outside of class time?

III. Relationships to people

A. Family
   Tell me something about your family.
   What is their education?
   What does your father do for a living?
   Does your mother work?
   What do you know about your grandparents?

1. Discipline
   Would you say that your parents were pretty strict or pretty easy going?
   Who generally handles the discipline in your family?
   Would you say that this is a good arrangement?

2. Domination
   Where do you get your spending money?
   Do your parents let you spend your money pretty much as you want to?
   Are you able to go out with others and do the things they do as often as you would like?
   How do your folks feel about your driving the car?

3. Power complex--democratic vs. authoritarian.
   Who usually makes the decisions in your family?
   Do your folks ever ask your advice about important family decisions?

4. **Sibling relationships**
   Tell me something about your brothers and sisters.
   How do they look at school?

5. **Other relatives**
   Do you have much to do with other relatives? Who are they?

6. **Significant others**
   Any people besides your parents who have had an important influence on you? (Encourage both direct acquaintances and public figures.)

IV. Self-Concept

A. Plans--orientation toward future

1. Maturity of plans for future--how realistic?
   Most young people daydream about the kind of work they will do when adults. What would you most like to be by the time you are 30? Any jobs you know you really wouldn't want at all?
   Describe the kind of job you really think you will be doing some day.
   How far have you gotten with your plans?
   Have you pretty well decided or are you still turning things over in your mind?
   What are some of the things that occasionally make you doubtful about your plans?
   What would you need to know before you decided definitely?

2. Sense of control of one's future
   What would your dad (mother) like you to become?
   Are they leaving the choice up to you or do they have definite ideas on the subject?
   Are there any kinds of work they would definitely not want to see you go into?
   What school plans have your parents suggested to you?
   Have you talked with your parents about the cost of further education?

B. Abilities

1. School related
   What would you say are your greatest assets in school?
   What have been your greatest accomplishments in school?

2. Others
   Would you say you had any special abilities which you have not had a chance to develop in school?

C. Interests

1. School related
   Leaving marks out of consideration, are there any school

subjects you would like to keep taking after this year?
What has interested you most about school up to now?

2. Other
What special interests have you that you haven't had time for in the past year?

3. Goal wishes--school and vocational
If you didn't have to think about the cost or the time involved or the preparation, what school and career plans would appeal to you most?

D. Attitudes toward external world

1. Toward success
Everyone has his ideas of what it means to make a success in life. What would success be for you?
What would you say had been your greatest achievement to date?
What is the most important reason for getting ahead?

2. Toward control of the future
What are some of the things in your favor in making a success in life?
What things might prevent you from being a success?

3. Towards other people
Besides your parents and teachers, what other people have you sought advice and help from?

4. Toward work
What sorts of jobs have you had after school? How did you go about getting them?

E. Attitudes toward self

1. General picture
If you had to describe yourself what are the most important characteristics you'd mention? What sort of guy are you?
If your best friend (worst enemy) were asked to describe you, what do you think he'd say?

2. Toward self-control
In what sorts of situations can you best control your feelings?

3. Toward abilities
How do you feel about your abilities?
What are some of the things you would like to be good at?
What are some of the things you have no talent for?

V. Other personality factors

A. Defenses

1. Readiness to accept consequences of acts. If he has commented accordingly: What seems to be the chief thing which has stood in the way of your doing a better job in school? What has discouraged you most in trying to get an education? What has stood in the way of your making more friends in school?

B. Special needs

1. Dependency
When do you think a fellow should be able to stand on his own two feet?
Would you say your parents let you make most of your own decisions?

2. Affiliation
What clubs have you been a member of outside of school?
Tell me something about your close personal friends. How many would you say you had?

3. Power and status
How do you feel about having a car in high school?

C. Interpersonal relationship skills

1. Sensitivity to others--emphatic quality

VI. Other environmental factors

A. Neighborhood

1. What are some of the things the kids do for fun in your neighborhood?

VII. Phenomenological exploration

A. Re-introduce earlier topics which elicited unusual emotional intensity.

APPENDIX E

Summary Sheet for Observations by Assessment Interviewer

TAT Cards Used:______________ Name:______________

Length of Tape:______________ ID#:______________

School:______________

Grade:______________

I. Prognosis

A. Grade Change: How many low grades? Difficulty in particular subjects? How intense is his concern? What influence have attitudes of peers and parents? What leverages for change? What escapes--prep school, etc.? What defenses--rationalizations, distortions, etc.? What counseling leverages--steady girl, etc.? Make comparisons of performance between last year and this year?

B. Personal Organization: Fixed attitudes, distortions, defenses; congruences among self attitudes; congruence between self-other and self-ideal; environmental support or obstruction of change. Capacity to articulate and evaluate self. Capacity to achieve distance between id and ego--to conceptualize process.

C. Vocational Development: Differentiation of interests, abilities, goals, and means. Congruence with values. How realistic? How informed? Has he explored? What environmental support?

II. Processing of Case

A. Hold, type of drop? Why?

B. Special action: Referral? Get additional data?

III. Comment (possible counseling strategies, etc.)

Name:______________________ Asst. Inter.:_________________

ID#:______________________ Date of Rating:_______________

Counselor:_________________

COUNSELING PROGNOSIS SCALE

If you counseled this boy for five interviews:	WON'T HAP.	PROBA-BILITY WILL HAP.		PROB-ABLE WILL HAP.		WILL HAP.
I. Grade Change (A and B)						
A. Grade point average movement up. (Grade movement toward A's is defined as one letter-grade change.)	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. Grade point average movement down.	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Generalization--change in two subjects or more to all subjects.	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. Change by first marking period, 1960.	1	2	3	4	5	6
II. Change in (self) personal organization.						
A. Change in any direction? (as against no change)	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. Change generalized to other sectors of life space.	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Change likely to be sustained over time?	1	2	3	4	5	6
III. Vocational Development						
A. Change in aims and goals?	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. Change in perception of abilities and interests.	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Increased perception of means-end relationship?	1	2	3	4	5	6
IV. Vocational Development--NOW						
A. Differentiation of abilities	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. Differentiation of interests	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Differentiation of goals	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. Crystallization of choice	1	2	3	4	5	6
E. Differentiation of means-end relationships in connection with goals	1	2	3	4	5	6
F. Realism in connection with A thru E	1	2	3	4	5	6
G. Acceptance of responsibility for choice and planning	1	2	3	4	5	6
H. Extent of information and planning in connection with goals	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX F

Manual of Procedure for Scoring Assessment Interviews

Purpose of Manual and Brief Discussion of Rating System

This manual is intended to guide the analyst in making and recording judgments about assessment interviews. Many of the categories are imprecise; ambiguities and exceptions exist. Some of the categories were included because they have special theoretical relevance to the Ego Counseling Project, for example, the category dealing with "expressed or implied locus of responsibility and control for decisions and actions;" others because they were expected to provide interesting information about the research sample and, hopefully, the various achievement groups. The categories dealing with perceptions of family, and of school, work, and other interests were used in this way. The analysis of assessment interviews is based, in part, on the work of others. The basic dimensions of "activity," "potency" and "evaluation" were suggested by Osgood's Semantic Differential (1958); the categories dealing with differentiation and specificity of educational and vocational goals were taken in part from Super's concept of vocational development and maturity (1957); and the section dealing with "capacity to conceptualize oneself and the people and institutions in one's surroundings" was suggested especially by Jane Loevinger's (1959) (1966) critiques of self and ego development.

Procedure

The analyst is provided with a set of interview typescripts and with a supply of interview analysis forms. Each form has four pages upon which the analyst enters the appropriate coded symbols dealing with the material contained in one assessment interview. The first two pages of each form are Part I, the second two pages, Part II. Many of the ratings in Part I can be made as the analyst reads the interview, since the information needed to do the rating may be covered specifically in one section of the interview. Material such as that related to "granting of privileges" or "part-time jobs during the school year" can often be scored in this way. Form II requires, in general, a greater degree of inference on the part of the scorer. Many of the items depend on familiarity with the total assessment interview protocol; summary judgments are drawn from it, rather than from specific items on the protocol.

Most of the scales contain several possible positions representing points on a continuum. (Those scales containing several discrete points are clearly specified on the analysis form.) Ideally, a scorer should arrive at a score on a particular item by making a simple judgment as to where on that particular continuum the subject falls. But sometimes a judgment is anything but simple. In cases where the scorer feels that he can make the necessary judgment only by a process of averaging statements or implications which, if each judged separately, would fall at the extremes of the continuum, he should give the averaged score accompanied by an asterisk in the item box.

Whenever the scorer does not have sufficient information to make a rating, he should give a score of eight, which means "scorer doesn't know." Usually a score of eight means either that the topic being rated never came up in the interview, or that the typescript was insufficiently complete or clear to enable the scorer to make a rating.

When an item does not seem to apply to a given assessment interview, it should be scored nine, which means "item not applicable." An example would be on form I, items 11 through 13, dealing with the student's perceptions of his father, in a case where the father had been dead since the student's infancy and the mother had not remarried. The scorer will have to use his own judgment as to what constitutes inapplicability for many items, but the reason for giving a score of nine should always be briefly specified next to the score or, if necessary, on the back of the page on which the score appears.

On form II, item 11 ("expressed or implied locus of responsibility and control for decisions and actions"), eight and nine are used--but not to indicate "don't know" and "not applicable." They refer, instead, to specific ratings which are labeled on the analysis form. For this category, in particular, there should always be sufficient information to make some kind of rating; it should not be necessary to use eight and nine to refer to "don't know" and "not applicable."

Refinement and Definition of Categories Included in Analysis Form for Assessment Interviews

Items 1 through 10 on both Part I and Part II of the analysis form contain identifying data.

Part I

Items 11, 14, 17, 21, 49, 52, 56, 59, and 62 are scored on a continuum of "involvement-detachment." This relates the degree to which the student perceives himself as being involved with or detached from the persons and institutions in question. It does not have to do with his perceptions of their involvement with him. In some instances the rating for this category will have to be based on inference. For example, if the student being rated does not specifically state that he is highly involved with brothers and sisters, but speaks of them at great length and with a great deal of emotion, he would be rated "1" on item 17 for high degree of involvement with siblings. The involvement in such a case may be of either a positive, satisfying, or negative, problematic nature; the score would be the same in either case.

Items 12, 15, 18, 22, 50, 53, 57, and 63 are scored on a continuum of "strength-weakness." The power, the influence, the importance which the person or institution being rated has in the eyes of the student is thus ranked from strong to weak. A father who is mentioned as being president of a large corporation, but whom the student describes as being an ineffectual Milquetoast in his familial and inter-personal relationships, and whom the student does not respect, would be rated "5" for "weak" on item 12; however, if the same student expressed pride in and respect for those qualities of his father which made him a success in business, and also contempt for his father's weakness in the home, a compromise score of "3" (with an asterisk) would be most appropriate. For items dealing with school which are rated on a "strength-weakness" continuum (50, 53, 57, 60, 63) the dimension "demanding-easy" is also implied.

Items 13, 16, 19, 23, 51, 54, 58, 61, and 64 deal with the student's evaluation of the person or institution being rated. Essentially ratings are made for the degree to which he sees it as being good or bad in its effect on him. Those items concerning school (51, 54, 58, 61, 64) also have the dimension "interesting-dull" implied under evaluation.

Items 11 through 16. If one of the parents is absent owing to death or divorce, write in this fact next to the appropriate word "father" or "mother." In many cases this will necessitate scores of "9" for items 11 through 13, or 14 through 16; however, in the case of divorce, if the parent living with the student has not remarried, and the student continues to have some relationship with the parent who has moved away, that parent may be rated for involvement, strength, and evaluation, provided it is also noted that he is not living in the home. In the case of remarriage, a step-parent may be similarly rated; but note should be made of what happened to the original parent.

Item 20. A surrogate need not be much older than the student, but must be a person of real and significant importance to him. It is often a relative, but may be someone like a particularly influential employer or counselor. In many cases items 20, 21, 22, and 23 will be scored "9" for "not applicable," as there will be no meaningful surrogate.

Item 55. If the rater has difficulty choosing among several possibilities for "specific teacher," he should rate the teacher who has had the greatest positive influence. In many cases items 55 through 58 will be rated "9" for "not applicable," if a specific teacher is not stressed.

Items 65 and 68. (Rating school activities and special friends from "many" to "none") and items 71, 74, and 77 (Rating part-time jobs, outside hobbies, and nonpurposeful activities from "time-consuming" to "no time involved") should take into account, where possible, the student's perceptions of whether he is involved with many or few friends or activities, and of whether he spends much or little time with his jobs and interests; however, it will often be helpful for the rater to consider the student's number of involvements and the time expended, in relation to comparable information about others in the sample. If the student has a part-time job taking twenty-five hours per week, for example, on item 71 he would be rated "1" for "time-consuming," _even if_ he did not explicitly complain about having insufficient time to do other things. This is because it is quite unusual for an Oxford High School student to devote so much time to paid, part-time employment.

Items 66, 69, 72, and 78 deal with the student's estimate of the importance to him of the aspects of his environment being scored.

Items 67, 70, 73, 76, and 79 record the student's level of satisfaction with the various aspects of his environment.

"Outside hobbies and special interests" (items 74-76) should include ratings of any discussion of Hebrew School, religious activities, and outside clubs as well as hobbies and interests.

"Nonpurposeful recreational activities and social life" (items 77-79) includes such activities as sports, working on cars (unless _highly_ organized, in which case it would be included under hobbies), "hanging around with the guys" and dating.

Part II of Analysis Form

Item 11. A score of 2 stands for father, 3 for mother, 4 for both mother and father, 5 for siblings, 6 for surrogate.

A score of 9 for "no locus" should be used for a student to whom things "just seem to happen" - where there appears to be little forethought or planning.

Item 12. This is a highly inferential judgment. What the rater should look for is whether or not the student's decisions and actions are _integrative within his own personality_; for example, the decision to enter a skilled trade instead of attending college might be self-enhancing and integrative for the student who has a genuine interest in manual work, but self-defeating and arbitrary for the student who is disinterested in the work but who is merely trying to frustrate his parents by such a move.

Items 13-16 deal with the extent to which the behavior and choices of the student appear to be influenced by his parents. The scale is in fact a composite of two scales. One scale ranks the degree of influence as being high, moderate, or negligible. The second ranks the nature of this influence. Thus a score of one means that the degree of influence by parents is high and that the nature of this influence is one of adherence to their wishes. A score of two means that the high degree of influence is marked in nature by a tendency for the student to act in opposition to the wishes of his parents. A score of three means that the student is highly influenced by his parent's wishes but sometimes acts in accord with those wishes and at other times in opposition to them. Scores of four, five, and six denote in the same way moderate parental influence. Seven denotes a negligible degree of parental influence, the nature of which, by definition, cannot be determined. Each of the four items allows for a ranking on this composite scale in each of four areas of the student's environment.

Items 17-20. In ranking these items the grade of the student should be taken into account. (To achieve the same numerical rating on the scales), the standards of specificity and awareness for a sophomore would be less rigorous than for a senior.

Items 21-24 are largely self-explanatory. A rating of 6 ("no apparent value") should be used either if the student says that he sees no value in the experience being rated, or if he simply does not appear to place any value on the experience.

Items 25-33 are highly inferential and often difficult to rate. A rating of 2 ("stereotyped conceptualization") can refer either to positive or to negative stereotypes. A raing of 1 ("differentiated and more-or-less realistic conceptualization") implies the ability to see both strengths and weaknesses in the same person, or group of persons, or institution, and to describe them adequately.

ANALYSIS OF INITIAL ASSESSMENT INTERVIEWS

STUDENT #
GRADE 1(61) 2(62) 3(63) 5)
SCHOOL 1(N) 2(S) 6)
ACH. STATUS 1(UAES) 2(UAC) 4(EA) 5(OA) 7)
COUNSELOR 1(H) 2(K) 3(S) 4(R) 5(M) 8)
SCORER 1(B) 2(S) 9)
10) 1

STUDENT'S PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY

(8-don't know)
(9-not applicable)

ALONG DIMENSIONS OF:

	ACTIVITY	POTENCY	EVALUATION
	E.G. 1(INVOLVED) 5 (DETACHED), ETC.	E.G. 1 (STRONG) 5 (WEAK), ETC.	E.G. 1 (GOOD) 5 (BAD), ETC.
Father	11)	12)	13)
Mother	14)	15)	16)
Siblings	17)	18)	19)
Surrogate (specify) 20)	21)	22)	23)
Parental Use of Authority	E.G. 1(Directive) 5(Permissive) 1(Severe) 5(Lax)	E.G. 1(Strong) 5(Weak) 1(Effective) 5(Ineffective) 5(Ineffective)	E.G. 1(Fair) 5(Unfair) 1(Good) 5(Bad)
Prime Decision Maker 24) (Circle) F B M	25)	26)	27)
Prime Disciplinarian 28) (Circle) F B M	29)	30)	31)
Use of Discipline a) In Re Personal Behavior	32)	33)	34)
b) In Re School Behavior	35)	36)	37)
Granting of Privileges; a) Car 38) (Circle) 1 Use of Family Car, 2 Own car, 3 No Lic.	39)	40)	41)
b) Money 42) (Cir.) 1 Primarily Own Earn. 2 Money from Parents 3 Both	43)	44)	45)
c)Mobility	46)	47)	48)

STUDENT'S PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL, WORK, OTHER INTERESTS, ETC.

	ALONG DIMENSIONS OF:		
	ACTIVITY	POTENCY	EVALUATION
	E.G. 1 (Involvement) 5 (Detachment)	E.G. 1(Strong) 5(Weak) 1(Demanding) 5(Easy), Etc.	E.G. 1 (Good) 5(Bad) 1 (Int.) 5(Dull), Etc.
School	49)	50)	51)
Teachers	52)	53)	54)
Specific Teacher (if mentioned) 55)	56)	57)	58)
Courses	59)	60)	61)
Homework	62)	63)	64)
	E.G. 1(Many) 5(None), Etc.	E.G. 1(Important) 5(Unimportant), Etc.	E.G. 1(Satisfaction) 5(Dissatisfaction), Etc.
School Activities	65)	66)	67)
Special Friends During School Yr.	68)	69)	70)
	E.G. 1(Time-Consuming) 5(No Time Involved), Etc.	E.G. 1(Important) 5(Unimportant), Etc.	E.G. 1(Satisfaction) 5(Dissatisfaction), Etc.
Part-Time Jobs During School Yr.	71)	72)	73)
Outside Hobbies and Special Interests	74)	75)	76)
Nonpurposeful Recreational Activities and Social Life	77)	78)	79)

GENERAL CATEGORIES FOR USE IN ANALYZING ASSESSMENT INTERVIEWS

STUDENT #
GRADE 1(61) 2(62) 3(63) 5)
SCHOOL 1(N) 2(S) 6)
ACH. STATUS 1(UAES) 2(UAC)
4(EA) 5(OA) 7)
COUNSELOR 1(H) 2(K) 3(S)
4(R) 5(M) 8)
SCORER 1(B) 2(S) 9)
10) 2

I. EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED LOCUS OF RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL FOR DECISIONS AND ACTIONS:
(1) Self, Other: (2) F; (3) M; (4) B; (5) Sibs; (6) Sur; (7) Teachers; (8) Peers; (9) No Locus; (10) Different in different situations 11)

II. SCORER'S EVALUATION OF SUCH DECISIONS AND ACTIONS:
(1) Self-enhancing, integrative, differentiating, rational, non-arbitrary, (5) self-defeating, non-integrative, non-differentiating, non-rational, arbitrary 12)

III. EXTENT TO WHICH RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS SEEMS TO INFLUENCE BEHAVIOR AND CHOICE:

(+ = ADHERENCE; - = OPPOSITION; ± = AMBIVALENCE)

	HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL	SOMEWHAT INFLUENTIAL	NEGLIGIBLY INFLUENTIAL	
	1 (+) 2 (-) 3 (±)	4 (+) 5(-) 6 (±)	7	
A. OVERALL BEHAVIOR				13)
B. SCHOOL BEHAVIOR				14)
C. CHOICE OF POST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION				15)
D. CHOICE OF VOCATION				16)

IV. EXTENT TO WHICH GOALS ARE SPECIFIC, INCLUDING A KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRAINING AND TASKS INVOLVED, AND INDICATIVE OF AN AWARENESS OF THE SUPPORTS AND OBSTACLES TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE GOALS:

	HIGHLY DIFFERENTIATED AND SPECIFIC		SOMEWHAT SPECIFIC	VERY GENERALIZED		
	1	2	3	4	5	
EDUCATIONAL GOALS						17)
VOCATIONAL GOALS						18)

	HIGHLY AWARE		SOMEWHAT AWARE		MINIMALLY AWARE		
	1	2	3	3	4	5	
EDUCATIONAL GOALS							19)
VOCATIONAL GOALS							20)

V. EXTENT TO WHICH ORIENTATION TOWARD EDUCATION AND VOCATION IS EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF INTRINSIC VALUES (FEELING OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, KNOWLEDGE FOR KNOWLEDGE'S SAKE, ETC.) VERSUS EXTRINSIC OR INSTRUMENTAL VALUES (MONEY, POWER, COLLEGE AS GATEWAY TO GOOD JOBS, ETC.):

	PRIMARILY INTRINSIC		INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC	PRIMARILY EXTRINSIC		NO APPARENT VALUE	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
SCHOOL							21)
COLLEGE							22)
WORK EXPERIENCE TO DATE							23)
VOCATIONAL GOALS							24)

VI. CAPACITY TO CONCEPTUALIZE ONESELF AND THE PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS IN ONE'S SURROUNDINGS:

	DIFFERENTIATED AND MORE-OR-LESS REALISTIC CONCEPTUALIZATION	STEREOTYPED CONCEPTUALIZATION	MINIMAL CONCEPTUALIZATION	
	1	2	3	
SELF				25)
FATHER				26)
MOTHER				27)
SURROGATE				28)
SIBLINGS				29)
SCHOOL				30)
TEACHERS				31)
COURSES				32)
PEERS				33)

APPENDIX G

TAT Scoring Blank for Assessing Adaptive Ego Functioning

Directions:

1) Each TAT story should be coded so that blind scoring is assured, and the code entered in the appropriate block.

2) When comparing stories from different TAT administrations, each story should be rated separately on the need, press, responsibility, and control variables before a comparison of the different administrations is attempted.

****

TAT Scoring Blank Subject #______

Card__________ Code__________	Card__________ Code__________
Response to story-telling task	Response to story-telling task
___ Integrated story	___ Integrated story
___ Failure to develop story	___ Failure to develop story
Press______________________	Press______________________
pAggression present ___	pAggression present ___
Reaction:	Reaction:
___ Low energy-Adaptive	___ Low energy-Adaptive
___ Low energy-Maladaptive	___ Low energy-Maladaptive
___ High energy-Adaptive	___ High energy-Adaptive
___ High energy-Maladaptive	___ High energy-Maladaptive
___ Cannot rate	___ Cannot rate
Needs______________________	Needs______________________
nAchievement present ___	nAchievement present ___
Reaction:	Reaction:
___ Success is work mediated	___ Success is work mediated
___ Fantasy approach	___ Fantasy approach
nAggression present ___	nAggression present ___
Reaction:	Reaction:
___ Adaptive	___ Adaptive
___ Maladaptive	___ Maladaptive
___ Can't rate	___ Can't rate

nAutonomy present ___

Reaction:
___ Adaptive
___ Maladaptive
___ Cannot rate

nAutonomy present ___

Reaction:
___ Adaptive
___ Maladaptive
___ Cannot rate

General Questions on the Story as a Whole:

1. Does the hero accept responsibility for his behavior and its consequences?
   Yes Cannot Rate No
2. Can the hero control his reactions to press from the environment or from his own impulses?
   Yes Cannot Rate No
3. General energy level of hero:
   High Neutral Low

1. Does the hero accept responsibility for his behavior and its consequences?
   Yes Cannot Rate No
2. Can the hero control his reactions to press from the environment or from his own impulses?
   Yes Cannot Rate No
3. General energy level of hero:
   High Neutral Low

Comparison Between TAT Administrations:

1. In which story was the hero's ego functioning least adaptive?
   ___ Cannot Rate ___
2. How much change in adaptive functioning occurred?

0	1	2	3
No change--the stories do not differ in adaptiveness	Minimal change--the hero is only slightly more adaptive	Change toward--adaptive functioning is noticeable	Major change--hero's ego functioning much more adaptive

APPENDIX H

Excerpts from Case of D O

Identification:	15-year old boy: 10th grade. WISC, V 126, P 132, Full Scale 132; Iowa Achievement Scores above 90th Percentile.
Referral:	Failing all courses as of month of May. Otherwise cooperative pupil, no manifest behavior problems.
Special Conditions:	Counselee was one of eight boys, seen as part of pilot study in cooperation between Harvard University and his high school guidance staff. The counselor (the Project Director) was introduced as the staff member of an outside research project. The counselee willingly accepted this arrangement. The counseling series consisted of an initial assessment interview plus five counseling interviews, held once weekly. All interviews were tape recorded with the counselee's knowledge.

1st Interview (Assessment-Oriented)

Excerpt A

S43. Well, I work hard when I have a test or something...to be truthful, I don't think I've studied, really studied so I know everything...I usually look it through once...well, I haven't even looked it through lately this past year, but last year I used to glance through it once or twice, I usually passed it, got an A or something (unclear) or reach the honor roll--I said I was going to reach it next quarter, but next quarter came around and that was it...same thing all over again.

C44. You make these promises and you're really serious about the resolutions at that time.

S44. Um...and then I cheat myself and don't do it. (15 sec. pause)

C45. Well, how do you feel about school work and being in school?

S45. Well, I know it's necessary and I know that if I keep up the way I am I'll kick myself afterwards when I have to dig a ditch or something when I probably could have had a college education; but I know all this and knowing it I still don't do it...I don't know why. I know it'll be necessary after I graduate, if I graduate (laughs) and still...

C46. Somehow you know all the purposes of it...at least you can say it, but when it comes time for action....

S46. To do it--that's it. (8 sec. pause)

1st Interview cont'd

Excerpt B

S48. Yes, I don't know what would appeal to me after I graduate. I like science though, quite a bit. I have trouble with math whether I study it or not, that's the only trouble.

C49. But the other subjects?

S49. Oh, if I read the book, studied my chapters, then I think I can get along fairly well.

C50. So it isn't a question of ability, generally is it?

S50. I think if I did think a little bit, do all the work I was supposed to do, I think I could get a fairly good mark.

C51. So you see the purposes of the whole thing, and you think you have enough ability to do fairly well...

S51. Once in a while I do study for it and get a fairly good mark, then I get lazy and it undoes all the good I did...

C52. You sort of undo everything. You're moved a little bit and you undo it.

S52. Yes, that's about it.

C53. Kind of feels discouraging, doesn't it?

S53. Yes, sometimes I feel like forgetting everything.

C54. You mean you get discouraged and then it's foolish to...push it all the way off? Push everything out of mind?

Excerpt C

S90. I don't know why, I would be...why I keep taking the college courses and classes. I might not get to college, why I don't take the general, business, or something like that I don't know. Way in back of my mind I may have an idea of going to college, but...maybe I still don't do anything about it...I don't know, maybe if you could split my mind down the middle, half wants to go to college and do the work and the - then - you have the other half fighting it (hah! ...laughs dryly) Do what you want to do, be lazy or something. It's about the best I can explain it.

2nd Interview

Excerpt A

S8. Well, this isn't helping you much...What shall we talk about? (self-conscious laugh)

C9. O.K. This is fine. Last week you were handling it yourself very well. Whatever it is you're interested in talking about....

S9. I can't think of anything...nothing has been bothering me or anything...it's just about the same as it was on the tape last week... it'd just be repetition to go into it again.

C10. You feel we covered everything last week?

S10. Fairly well, yes.

C11. No more to cover.

S11. Huh?

C12. No more to talk about.

S12. I don't know...I can't think of anything. My views and ideas are about the same as last week...haven't changed any.

C13. You mean we covered all the things you have interests and concerns about?

S13. I guess so...can't think of anything else...I don't know.

C14. You don't have to think of anything else...what would you like to talk about?

S14. I don't know!

C15. You have this time to use to explore questions that are important to yourself...you have this time to use for yourself.

S15. Well, I have only one question - of course, we went through that last week...it's why I don't do what I'm supposed to do? This is the big one on my mind... (10 sec. pause). Why I do it sometimes and other times I just let it slide by... (8 sec. pause)

C16. This - this - changeability....

S16. Yeah, when I do something, get a fairly good mark or something - I stick my chest out and feel proud of it, and make a resolution to continue that way, then all of a sudden, gone again. (smacks hard)

C17. What - uh - what's gone again?

S17. Well, if I don't do homework for one night, I fall behind in class next day and if it's an important subject where you have to do your homework in order to understand it better, I'm lost in class the next day; my determination leaves me and I just give up and sit there and stare at the blackboard and mind my own business; do nothing; think of the baseball game yesterday...or something like that.

C18. Everything gets thrown out of balance and then you sort of leave it and think of something else.

Excerpt B

S58. If they feel their reason is better than mine, that's it. I voice my opinions, but to no avail...doesn't do much good.

C59. Your opinions aren't basically then accepted or respected....

S59. No, it's a matter of...I don't know, whatever they're talking about at the time...I'll pop up with some suggestion and my mother turns around and says, "Your place is to sit down and listen....

C60. Shut up and listen...how do you feel inside?

S60. Oh, it's extremely maddening when someone says something like that...I feel that it was a good suggestion or something, and she doesn't go for it...and my suggestion is immediately vetoed (hah).

C61. This burns you up....

S61. Yes, very definitely, but what can I do about it?....

Excerpt C

C72. What's one of the kinds of things where you can freely disagree with her?

S72. Oh, I can't think of any....

C73. How about school work?

S73. We usually don't discuss it that much...around the time when it comes for the quarterly report or something, or the warning notices...we talk about that for a day or so...and that's it; until I bring home a test with 30 on it or something to be signed by a parent....

C74. They can't do anything about that, can they? They can criticize you...but...they can't do anything to change...

S74. Well, there's really nothing they can do....

C75. That's one thing they can't change; it's up to you.

S75. Maybe that's my way of getting back at them for not letting me express my ideas....I don't think of it that way, but perhaps that's what it is, I don't know.

C76. Let's give some thought to that...how would that be?

S76. You mean as retaliation...not doing school work? Where they have no control over it?

C77. Yes, I guess...it's an idea you just expressed....

5th Interview

Excerpt A

S158. There's one other thing I never mentioned...never told anyone... (hesitates several times; experiencing considerable strain to get started on the idea), Well, we have two different classes of kids in this school, those that keep their nose clean, mind their own business, don't get into trouble, and the other ones that, most of the time, the majority of the ones have fun...but...well, I fit in usually in a small group (10 sec. pause) well, we have these two groups called A and B...B is a bunch of fellows maybe I would like to (sigh) maybe I'd like to join them...do what they do...I don't know... Lot of them--they don't do good in school and you just don't fit if you're...this is just an opinion...I don't know how to explain it...

C159. (C nods encouragement) Your opinions are worthwhile...

S159. Maybe I'm not doing the work so I can fit into that other group, I don't know...it's just an idea...because I was always, shall we say, rejected from them...in fact, sometimes they make my life rather miserable (embarrassed laugh). Maybe that was just a way of trying to ease that bit of tension that's come in between...I don't know, perhaps subconsciously I think if I (tensing) join them, not doing what they're supposed to do, I'd be accepted a little more readily...

C160. This is interesting...keep trying... (6 sec. pause)

S160. (sigh) It's just a thought.

C161. To prove to them that you could be one of them, that you could fit...

S161. I don't know why I should want to...just an idea that it possibly could be...I don't know.

C162. And yet you don't really know whether you want to fit with them...

S162. No...maybe it's just because...perhaps I would like to so they'd stop heckling me or what ever you want to call it... not really want them as friends or something. I don't know.

C163. In a way, these are fellows, you are sort of in but while you're there, they use you as kind of...or they criticize you or...

S163. Scrapegoat (sic)...

5th Interview cont'd

Excerpt A cont'd

C164. Scapegoat, yeah... and you're still not sure whether you really want to be in, but heck, you would like to prove to them that you could be accepted....

6th Interview

Excerpt A

C18. Once in awhile in the past you've cranked up interest and it's... (S. interrupting, never so intense though) never as intense as this. (S. maybe it's my turning point, I hope.)

C19. Would you like to explore a little more what might stand in the way of your "will"?

S19. Can't think of anything that will.

C20. Pardon.

S20. Can't think of anything that will. If I wanna do it, I'll do it, I'll do it.

C21. How about some of the things we were talking about last week?

S21. You mean A and B (laughs). Well, I've been thinking about that for awhile. I wanna do somethin'. I don't care what... other group it is. I'm gonna do it, I don't care. Let them think what they want to, do what they want. I'm still gonna do what *I* want (said with a somewhat grim determination).

C22. So you've got this kind of strong feeling now--this conviction that what you want to do counts more.

S22. They're not gonna...Well, I don't know, diggin' a ditch or somethin' after they get out of high school, the way I might if I keep up this way. It's my life, I'm gonna run it.

C23. (10 sec. pause) So your attitude toward them as you see it now would be, you go your way, I'll go mine.

S23. Exactly! I think my way is the right way, so I'll go that way. (unclear) for me, anyway.

C24. Now this is your attitude toward them...what happens when you meet them again?

S24. I don't care; makes no difference to me.

6th Interview cont'd

Excerpt A cont'd

C25. Suppose they start ribbing you about your new-found aspirations.

S25. Well, I don't care anymore; I found somethin' that I want to do and I'm gonna do it.

C26. How will you handle that when they start saying, "...this guy with big ideas"?

S26. I don't know. Maybe some people if they see a person 's got a mind of his own and will of his own...I don't know.

Excerpt B

C36. Will...I suggested the idea of exploring it--kind of thinking through in advance how you would handle this, 'cause if you don't handle it--their needling--successfully, it could shake up your aspirations.

S36. Possibly.

C37. It's one thing to have some kind of desire and aspiration; it's another thing to have a conviction that carries you through all kinds of situations...

S37. I'd say this is more than a desire, right now. Right now, I was looking at those pamphlets and things and I'm gonna do it; I'm positive I'm gonna do it. (sighs heavily) I hope I'm gonna do it.

Excerpt C

C41. Well, would you say back to them, "Well, some day you'll be a laborer and I'll be a professional man"?

S41. I just don't know.

C42. Where do you think that might get you if you say that?

S42. I don't know; (5 sec. pause) just don't know what I'm gonna say, what I'm gonna do, I don't know.

C43. Is it kind of uncomfortable to try to imagine this?

S43. No; I just don't know; I'll think of somethin' on the spur of the moment.

C44. Well, it might help if you could kind of anticipate this...it might be good to decide just to kind of laugh with them: "Guess it is strange...to you." There might be other kinds...if you were to say to them instead of trying to fight them back, you might...

6th Interview cont'd

Excerpt C cont'd

S44. Why should I agree with them if I don't? No, I wouldn't do that, I don't know what I'd do.

C45. Well, it's not a question of agreeing with them. What would you be agreeing with if you say to them, "Gee, yeah, I guess it does sound strange to you."

S45. Well, you mean humoring them (laughs awkwardly).

C46. You would be agreeing that it's strange to them. That it is...

S46. (interrupting)...well it might be strange to them....

C47. But not to you. You're not agreeing that it's a phoney idea. You're just agreeing that they don't understand it too well.

S47. Hmm...that's a thought.

Excerpt D

C74. So any plans you make, you do run into this...uh...problem of her possessiveness.

S74. Umm...Then she was talking about the Air Force that same night; she found out you had to go live out in Colorado and be away for four years; then she decided that Engineering would be a good field for me; until I told her that if I got into the particular branch of engineering I wanted, I might end up in Saudi Arabia or somewhere around there. Then she decided that she wanted me to be a lawyer. (laughs) (9 sec. pause)

C75. Well, you seem to understand how some of her ideas work.

S75. Umm...counteract them (laughs)...(6 sec. pause)

Excerpt E

S83. ...so he thought perhaps some branch of medicine, psychology, or even a veterinarian, with my love for the outdoors.

C84. All these for the time being make sense and for all of them you have to do the same thing right now, don't you....

S84. Work...(guilty laugh) (5sec. pause)

C85. We were on this question of what part your mother plays sometimes in riling you up. You may remember our earlier

6th Interview cont'd

Excerpt E cont'd

C85. (cont') discussions about it...you though maybe it might play a part in your reluctance to really get down to school work. You've got a couple of years living at home yet. What do you think you can do about it?

S85. Oh, I don't know. A lot of ideas about working--those have changed, I mean school work...I don't know. My ideas about people in general, friends, and my mother and group B and group A--they seemed to have changed a little bit too. I've got my idea of what I want to do. Right now, I'm going to do it.

C86. So from your point of view, you've got some--can I use the terms "emerging ideas"? (S. umm)--and you're going to try to follow through with them. Your mother's unlikely to change much...(S. No) Think she might change with you? (S. no, laughs) Or is she...

S86. No. (laughs knowingly) I'll just have to grin and bear it.

C87. So you feel reasonably confident that you can kind of deal with her objections the way you have dealt with them in the past... Go ahead and do something anyway?

S87. I guess that would be about it (laughs).

Excerpt F

C119. Anything else?

S119. No...got the tools, (laughs) now to put them to use.

C120. Give it a try; you've got some real promise.

S120. I wanted to thank you too; I think that a lot of it--talkin' here, givin' me ideas to think about--it helped (with feeling)!

C121. But you're capable of using them constructively; it isn't just that I was talking with you that you...

S121. (interrupting) I mean, you sort of...turned on the motor... motivation (laughs at his own pun). (C. That's right)

C122. Very good! (with finality)....(unclear--both talk together while moving chairs)

S122. I hope so...(points to correlation chart of pupil's aptitude and achievement on the wall of the school counselor's office) I hope to move up that little flag.

APPENDIX I

Manual for Rating Ego-Counseling Interviews

A. Purpose of the Manual

To set forth a procedure for summarizing from a reading of interview typescripts, certain features of the process and outcome of a counseling case. The entries on the rating form are intended to provide a basis for judging in each counseling case, the degree to which a model of ego-counseling was successfully implemented, and the degree to which the counselee changed in terms of certain criteria.

B. General Strategy for Abstracting and for Rating the Interview Material

The rater will first read the working paper entitled "Ego-Counseling in Guidance." He will regard each ego-counseling case as essentially an effort to implement the theory embodied in the working paper. As the rater reads an interview typescript, he will abstract and write out the themes and sectors (as these are defined in part C of this Manual). Although he will indicate in which interview (s) a theme or sector appears, he is not required to specify the units of conversation within an interview upon which his judgments are based. He will strive, nevertheless, to act reliably. As he makes judgments, he will ask himself whether there is a likelihood that another rater reading the same material would score it in a similar manner. In making his judgments, he will experience varying degrees of uncertainty. He will accept this as a necessary accompaniment to this kind of data analysis; he will try, nevertheless, to minimize inconsistency in his judgments.

C. Procedure for Abstracting Themes and Sectors (Section I of the Rating Sheet)

1. The rater is provided with a set of all the available interview typescripts for a single counseling case and with a supply of specially designed interview rating forms. As he reads each interview typescript for a counseling case in sequence, he will abstract and write out themes and sectors and make tentative judgments. He is encouraged to revise any of his abstracts or ratings at any phase in his reading of the transcripts. He may find, for example, that his rationale for making a certain judgment in the second interview will be clarified by something he reads in the fourth interview. He may, if he decides, restate a certain theme or sector. If he decides to revise a rating, he will enter the new number in parentheses next to the old rating.

2. Inspection of the rating sheet will disclose that there are four sections. In Section I, the rater lists the themes and sectors which he abstracts from the interview conversation. The purpose of the listing is to enable a later summary and a (hypothetical) reconstruction of the interaction between counselor and counselee. Themes and sectors are defined as follows:

   a. Theme. May be loosely defined as the topic of discussion. A useful analogy might be that to a theme in a musical composition.

   b. Sector. Certain themes assume the characteristics of a sector. A sector is formed when an idea, a wish, a disposition, and/or an intention of the counselee is considered by counselor and counselee in relation to a requirement or an opportunity (or a set of requirements and opportunities) in the counselee's environment. By implication, there is present some encounter, some tension, among elements within the person of the counselee, within his environment, or between person and environment, which might bear appraisal and reconstrual during the counseling conversation. It is not necessary that the sector be considered a "problem"; although most sectors can probably be characterized this way. It may often be difficult for a rater to distinguish between a theme and a sector. When in doubt, it is preferred that it be listed as a theme. A sector must have two or more identifiable elements in relation to each other. Furthermore, there must be some basis for inference by the rater that both counselor and counselee became aware of a possible connection between these elements.

Sectors will vary in the degree to which they are concrete vs. abstract. It is difficult to guide the rater as to the best "level of abstraction" to use in writing out his label for a sector. The label ought not to be so abstract as to be obvious; for example, "Counselee's response to task demands." When in doubt, it is better to lean toward the concrete and specific. Perhaps the example just given might better have read, "Counselee pretends to study in his room when his father insists that he do homework."

It might also be added that a sector ought not to be so specific as to be trivial. No example of a trivial sector is possible, however, out of the context of an interview. Even a seemingly innocuous encounter, for example, the counselee's frustration with his parents' requirement that he remain in the house week nights, may be of salient importance in any single counseling case.

An example of the difference between themes and sectors is offered here. The following is a partial list of themes drawn from a counseling case: Interest in outdoor activities; preference to live in the woods as opposed to the city; dislike for Latin and history - also perceives them to be impractical; concern about a possibility of war; review of measured counselee abilities and interests through test interpretation; vagueness about the future. The following are sectors which might be abstracted from the same interview material from which these themes were drawn: Unwillingness to do academic work because he perceives it as merely satisfying the teacher's demands; concern and annoyance with self that he is not using his abilities; frustration at his inability to figure out how he might avoid control by adults.

3. In connection with each sector, the rater will enter in the appropriate column a number between 0 and 5, representing to what degree the following took place: appraisal, reorganization, and planning.

a. Analysis. The rater might be guided by the following phrase in the ego-counseling paper. "The counselee examines his capacities and interests, decisions and actions and (their consequences and alternatives) with relation to the demands and opportunities...."

Separate ratings are made for analysis by counselor and analysis by counselee of a sector.

b. Reorganization is used as in the working paper. Perhaps the key guiding phrase is, "The counselee is helped to reconstrue his circumstances in ways that might lead him to their more effective control." He is helped "... to attain a revised set of intentions, of concepts, of personal constructs with reference to a defined sector."

c. Planning is to be substituted for and to subsume what is discussed under the headings of action and rehearsal in the ego-counseling paper. Planning is to be construed in a general sense; the conditions for planning in a counseling interview can be satisfied even though there may be no delineation of specific courses of action to be taken by the counselee.

Planning also subsumes action in the sense that the counselee may report an incident which the rater may infer represents an implementation of a "plan" which had been discussed in previous interviews. Theoretically, action represents an effort to test or to execute a plan. Much of the "action" which might be considered during counseling interviews cannot be evaluated because it can occur only in the future after counseling will have been terminated. But to the degree that the counselee's report of incidents occuring between interviews can be construed as related to the analysis, reorganization and planning which take place during the interviews, the rater will consider this to be part of planning.

D. Global Ratings of the Counseling Process (Section II of the Rating Sheet)

The previous ratings for appraisal, reorganization and planning were made for each sector separately. In this section, the rater is asked to render judgments based on the entire series of interviews for any one case. The dimensions under which these "global" judgments are to be made include the following:

1. Setting. In making judgments with reference to setting the rater will consider how adequately the counselee perceives and accepts the limits and opportunities of counseling. The rater might be especially alerted to the counselee's explicit or implicit concern about the limits of time and about the counselor's disinclination to prescribe him solutions to his problems.

2. Relationship. To what extent does the counselee accept the counselor as collaborator? Among the qualities the rater keeps in mind here are the following: Trust...Mistrust; Openness...Resistance.

3. The rater will then make "global" judgments on the same dimensions along which he made particular judgments in Part I (see rating sheet).

E. Global Assessment of Counseling Outcomes (Section III of the Rating Sheet)

In the working paper, the hoped-for outcomes of ego-counseling are subsumed within the concepts of responsibility, control and non-arbitrariness. The raters are asked here to make the difficult general judgment as to what degree the counselee seems to have changed--in either a positive or negative direction during the course of the counseling interviews. To what degree does the counselee seem ready to assume greater personal responsibility for planning and for the consequences of his own actions? To what degree will he be in greater control of his plans and of their realization? To what degree does he evidence in his intentions and in his plans, a flexibility, an openness to a new experience, a tentativeness, based on realistic appreciation of uncertainty and contingencies? The rater again is not given a specific definition for each point on the scale. It is hoped that his general orientation to ego-counseling and his concern to be reliable in his judgments will enable him to make a useful rating on these dimensions.

F. Case Summary (Section IV of the Rating Sheet)

The rater is asked, in a paragraph or two, to "criticize" the case. First, he is asked to comment on the following:

1. To what degree did the counselor's strategies accord with the general model of ego-counseling?
2. To what degree was generalization from one sector to other potential sectors accomplished? Generalization is only considered in the ego-counseling paper briefly in the section entitled "Synthesis."
3. To what degree might this be considered a "successful" ego-counseling case?

Then, in a paragraph or two the rater will discuss the reasons behind his answers to these questions. It is hoped that, while doing so, he will summarize both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the counseling case.

Form for Rating Ego-Counseling Interviews

Harvard-Newton Project
Student #

Grade 1 (61) 2(62) 3(63) 5

School 1(N) 2(S) 6

Counseling Int. # 7

Total No. of Ints. 8

Counselor 1(R) 2(H) 3(K) 4(S) 9

Section I. Themes and Sectors

Interview # **Themes**

Section II. Global Ratings of Counseling Process

1. SETTING 1 2 3 4 5 (Circle Number)
Minimum Maximum

2. RELATIONSHIP 1 2 3 4 5

3. APPRAISAL 1 2 3 4 5

4. REORGANIZATION 1 2 3 4 5

5. PLANNING 1 2 3 4 5

6. GENERALIZATION 1 2 3 4 5

Comments

Section III. Global Ratings of Counseling Outcome

1. RESPONSIBILITY -2 -1 0 +1 +2
Regress Progress

2. CONTROL -2 -1 0 +1 +2

3. NON-ARBITRARINESS -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Comments

IV. Case Summary

Guiding Questions: 1. To what degree were counselor strategies in accord with the model of ego-counseling?

2. To what degree has the counselee changed in accord with the expectations of the model?

Record under each heading, for each sector, a number from the following scale:

0 1 2 3 4 5

Interview #	Sectors	Appraisal		Reorganization	Planning
		Counselee	Counselor		